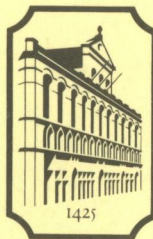


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LVII - 2008



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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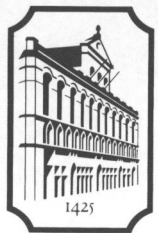
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**SECOND ANNUAL JOZEF IJSEWIJN LECTURE**

(LEUVEN, 26 SEPTEMBER 2007)





















## ***Praefatio***

*Mr. Chairman, dear Mrs. IJsewijn and Family, dear friends and colleagues,*

*Thank you very much for your kind words of introduction, and thank you, above all, for the invitation to deliver the second Jozef IJsewijn Lecture here in the venerable Alma Mater Lovaniensis and in the famous Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, which is, simply, the Holy Shrine of Neo-Latin Studies.*

*This invitation is a great honour and privilege but also a heavy burden for anyone, who attempts in the wake of Jozef IJsewijn to do research in the field of Neo-Latin studies — a field that has been prepared and laid out by him, the ἥρως κτίστης of our discipline, in such a masterly fashion. Like most of those who are engaged in Neo-Latin literature and the study of Renaissance Humanism, I, too, received my first acquaintance with this field through Jozef IJsewijn and his Companion (then still in the one-volume first edition of 1977). And I still remember when we first met at the Fourth Congress of the IANLS in Bologna in 1979 how surprised and delighted he was when I told him that I had bought not only one copy of his Companion for myself, but also six more copies for the textbook collection of the university library of Bielefeld where I was at that time a lecturer.*

*One year later, in 1980, I taught my first Neo-Latin course on Fracastoro's Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus, and then, inspired and set onto the track, as it were, by his Companion, I learned that Fracastoro was the first but not the only poet who had treated the European discovery of the New World in Latin verse. Leafing through the Companion's section on Neo-Latin and America, I saw that there were quite a few poets who had sung of Columbus' enterprise and that of other explorers in classical hexameters - and I had found my next topic of research.*

*I shall always remember Jozef IJsewijn's friendship and the collegial advice he gave whenever I asked him, be it for a publication in Humanistica*



*Lovaniensia or elsewhere, for information on a manuscript or on a problem of text and interpretation that had vexed me for a long time, and his answer always either solved the problem outright or brought me a considerable step further.*

*I met Jozef IJsewijn for the last time at the colloquium on the occasion of Fokke Akkerman's 65<sup>th</sup> birthday in Groningen twelve years ago, not knowing that less than three years later a mors acerba et immatura would bereave us of his amiable personality.*

*When I accepted the invitation to speak here in his memory and honour, I did so because I am deeply indebted to Josef IJsewijn's scholarship and his friendship. If he, now from a different place, should by chance be listening to my following lecture, I hope he will pardon my errors, smile at my deficiencies and be mild, as he used to be, when I am telling you things which I consider results of my own research, which he, however, surely had detected for himself and knew long ago.*

*Heinz Hofmann*

Heinz HOFMANN

LITERARY CULTURE AT THE COURT OF URBINO  
DURING THE REIGN OF FEDERICO DA MONTEFELTRO

Born around the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Cantalice, a small village in the Abruzzi, Giovanni Battista Valentini styled himself Cantalycius, the name under which he published his scholarly and literary works, consisting mostly of Latin poems on high-ranking persons and historical events of his time. He had taught Latin in various cities of Italy, including Siena, Florence, Perugia and Viterbo and had earned renown as the author of a Latin grammar printed in Venice in 1493, where his twelve books of epigrams also appeared around the same time. A subject of 58 shorter poems by Cantalycius in the nineties of that century was the Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro, who had died on 10 September 1482 while besieging Ferrara as an ally of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

This collection of 58 poems on Federico da Montefeltro is transmitted in two slightly different versions in two manuscripts in the former library of Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino which in 1657 — exactly 350 years ago — was transferred to the Papal Library in the Vatican.<sup>2</sup> These two

<sup>1</sup> On Cantalycius' life and works see Benedetto Croce, 'Sulla vita e le opere del Cantalicio', *Archivio Storico delle Province Napoletane*, n.s. 10 (1926), 155-195, reprinted (with omissions) in: *Eruditi e Letterati del Lazio*, a cura di R. Lefèvre, Lunario Romano, 18 (Roma, 1988), pp. 357-370; Giuseppe Germano, 'Giambattista Valentini detto il Cantalicio: vicende biografiche e produzione letteraria', in *Giambattista Cantalicio, Bucolica*, a cura di Liliana Monti Sabia. *Spectacula Lucretiana*, a cura di Giuseppe Germano, Edizione nazionale dei testi umanistici, 1 (Messina, 1996), pp. 9-46. The entry in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1960-) [henceforth quoted as *DBI*] will be published under the letter 'V' (for Valentini).

<sup>2</sup> On the history of the library of Urbino and its later incorporation under Pope Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) into the Vatican Library see: *Codices Urbinae Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, recensuit Cosimus Stornajolo, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti* (Romae, 1895), pp. X-XLIV; Gino Franceschini, 'Per la storia della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino', *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Marche*, ser. VII, 12 (1959), 41-77; Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, avec la collaboration de José Ruyschaert, *Studi e Testi*, 272 (Città del Vaticano,

manuscripts, the Vat. Urb. Lat. 718 and 719, were described by Cosimo Stornajolo in 1912<sup>3</sup> and recently discussed by Ruth Monreal<sup>4</sup> who, in her contribution, has shown that the collection is arranged according to thematic criteria: it opens with six poems (no. 1-6)<sup>5</sup> that may be characterised as 'poetological' since they discuss the collection itself.<sup>6</sup> The main part of the collection consists of 40 biographical poems (no. 7-46) on the life and deeds of Federico himself, whereas the third section contains 11 panegyric poems (no. 47-57) addressing other persons at the court of Urbino, for instance, Federico's brother Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda (1424-1498)<sup>7</sup>, Federico's natural son Antonio da Montefeltro (†1500) and his wife Emilia Pia da Carpi, his only legitimate son, Guidobaldo (1472-1508), born of his second marriage to Battista Sforza (1446-1472)<sup>8</sup>, and Ludovico Odasio, one of Guidobaldo's teachers.<sup>9</sup>

Of the two extant manuscripts, the first one, Urb. Lat. 718, is a fine parchment codex with multicoloured decorations, written in an elegant humanistic hand of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It was identified by Monreal as the dedication manuscript of 1492/3 to Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino since 1482. The second manuscript, Urb. Lat. 719, is a later and far less elegant copy of 718 on paper, which Cantalycius had sent after

1973), p. 141; Luigi e Maria Moranti, *Il trasferimento dei "codices Urbinates" alla Biblioteca Vaticana. Cronistoria, documenti e inventario*, Collana di studi e testi, 9 (Urbino, 1981); Luigi Michelini Tocci, 'La formazione della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro: codici contemporanei e libri a stampa', in *Federico di Montefeltro: lo stato, le arti, la cultura. Atti del convegno per il quinto centenario della morte di Federico di Montefeltro (Urbino, 1982)*, a cura di S. Cerboni-Baiardi, G. Chittolini, P. Floriani, 3 vols (Roma, 1986), III: *La cultura*, 9-18; Jan Lauts – Irmlind Luise Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro, Herzog von Urbino: Kriegsherr, Friedensfürst und Förderer der Künste* (München-Berlin, 2001), pp. 290-310; Marcella Peruzzi, *Cultura - Potere - Immagine. La biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro* (Urbino, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> *Codices Urbinates Latini*, recensuit Cosimus Stornajolo, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manu scripti recensiti, 3 vols (Romae, 1902-1921), II: *Codices 501-1000* (Romae, 1912), 263-267.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Monreal, 'Cantalycius' Gedichte auf Federico da Montefeltro', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (2005), 151-166.

<sup>5</sup> The numbering of the poems is that of Ruth Monreal, who follows Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, II, 263-267; cf. her article 'Cantalycius' Gedichte', 156 and 161-163.

<sup>6</sup> In Urb. Lat. 718 the very last one (no. 58) *Ad librum de praestantissimo iuriconsulto Dulcio Spoletino* recommends the collection to the lawyer Dulcius from Spoleto and is also poetological.

<sup>7</sup> On him see below pp. 25-35, 38-50.

<sup>8</sup> See the recent biography by Marinella Bonvini Mazzanti, *Battista Sforza Montefeltro: una principessa nel rinascimento italiano* (Urbino, 1993). On Guidobaldo see Gino Benzoni, 'Guidobaldo I da Montefeltro, duca d'Urbino', in *DBI*, 61 (2003), 470-478.

<sup>9</sup> On him see below pp. 31 with n. 118, 41 with n. 154, 47-48 with n. 192-194.

Guidobaldo's death, in 1508, to Elisabetta Gonzaga, Guidobaldo's widow.<sup>10</sup> Cantalycius had sent this copy, as he took pains to explain in a long-winded preface (in Italian, not Latin), because he was afraid that the first manuscript, i.e. Urb. Lat. 718, might have been lost; thus he thought that it would be convenient to supply a (slightly revised) second copy.<sup>11</sup> His aims behind this manoeuvre are not quite clear: perhaps he really was convinced that his first copy had been lost, but it may also be that with the presentation of another manuscript he wanted to remind the court of his existence without going to the trouble of composing a new work.<sup>12</sup>

This collection bears the title *Cantalycii epigrammata ad Illustrissimum Principem Guidum Pheretranum Urbini Ducem de Gestis et Moribus Invictissimi Phederici patris eius* and is, in this respect, an unusual type of biographical poetry, as it narrates Federico's life and death not in the form of the *carmen perpetuum* of heroic poetry, but in a series of single shorter poems in various metres — mostly in elegiacs, but also in hexameters, Asclepiads, Phalaeceans and Sapphic stanzas —, giving, as it were, little self-contained and independent vignettes ('eidyllia') of certain episodes of Federico's life and military campaigns and also illustrations of his character, his virtues and his achievements for Urbino and his duchy. Among the latter there is a poem (no. 46 in Monreal's hopefully forthcoming edition) on Federico's famous library in his palace in Urbino (the text is that of the first copy transmitted in Urb. Lat. 718):

### De eius Bibliotheca pulcherrima

Quam bene complexus fueras, Phederice, Camenas,  
pulchra tuae monstrat bibliotheca domus,  
in qua Roma suos agnoscit Martia vates

<sup>10</sup> Elisabetta Gonzaga (Mantua 1471-Urbino 1526), fourth child of the Marchese Federico Gonzaga and Margherita of Bavaria, was married to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in February 1488; cf. S. Pellizzer, 'Elisabetta Gonzaga', in *DBI*, 42 (1993), 494-499.

<sup>11</sup> Text of the preface in Monreal, 'Cantalycius' Gedichte', p. 153 n. 13. See also Giovanni Zannoni, 'Il Cantalicio alla corte di Urbino', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. V, 3 (1894), 485-507 (p. 505).

<sup>12</sup> This possibility is taken into consideration by Ruth Monreal, 'Una biografia in versi: Gli epigrammi di Giovanni Battista Valentini, detto il Cantalicio, sulla vita e le gesta di Federico da Montefeltro', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 22 (2002), 129-137: 'Certamente è possibile che l'esemplare sia stato perduto e poi ricomparso, ma si può anche sospettare che il Cantalicio voleva farsi ricordare alla corte per mezzo della consegna di un'opera senza la fatica di comporre nuovi poemi' (p. 131).

- nec minus et vates Graecia culta suos.
- 5 Sanctarum hic lucent legum monumenta novarum  
et quae Mosaicae composuere manus,  
quae neque litterulis notat impressura caducis,  
sed pinxit facili pollice docta manus.
- Illic servantur leges et iura Quiritum
- 10 qualia, quae prima scripta fuere manu.  
Quicquid Aristoteles, quicquid Plato scripserat, illic  
cernitur, et quicquid Socratis ora sonant.  
Hic Chrysiptae numerosa volumina chartae,  
hic medicae legitur quodlibet artis opus,
- 15 hicque mathematici non desunt codicis artes  
vel qui scripserunt gentibus omne solum,  
historias et qui iam composuere Latinas  
Graecorumque simul fortia facta ducum.
- Hic Demosthenicae lucent Ciceronis et artes
- 20 et quod grammatices edocuere patres,  
quod non Palladiae tribuit Pysistratus urbi  
nec tu Niliacae iam, Phyladelphae, tuae.  
Pro quo, si pius es, Phoebi qui templa subibis,  
praemia vel meritis reddere siqua soles,
- 25 sancta patris, dicas, foeliciter ossa quiescant  
natus et Euboicae saecula vincat anus.

*Titulus ornatissima 719: 5-6 add. atramento pallidior 718, om. 719: 7 quae neque] quos non 719: 16 qui om. 719*

The poem opens with an address to Federico, who is praised for his care for the Muses (*Camenas* in v. 1), i.e. for literature, science and the Fine Arts, and for the beautiful palace in which his library is housed. We are told (v. 3-4) that this library contains books both in Latin and Greek, which means also translations of Greek authors into Latin. The poet does not mention that there were also a few manuscripts in Coptic<sup>13</sup> and Arabic<sup>14</sup> and about 80 in Hebrew; a third of them were written by the Jewish scribe Aharon and his son Menachem who worked for the Florentine atelier of Vespasiano da Bisticci.<sup>15</sup> The oldest Hebrew manuscript, however,

<sup>13</sup> Cecil H. Clough, 'The Library of the Dukes of Urbino', *Librarium*, 9 (1966), 101-105 (p. 102), reprinted in Id., *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance*, Variorum Reprints: Collected Studies Series, 129 (London, 1981), no. VI. On the oriental mss. in the library of Urbino see Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e Testi, 92 (Città del Vaticano, 1939), pp. 397-405.

<sup>14</sup> Written by Guglielmo Raimondo da Moncada: see below pp. 42-43 with n. 163 and Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 93-94, 141-143.

<sup>15</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 28 n. 30. Urb. Lat. 9 is a trilingual text (in three columns) of the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek and the Latin Vulgate version. It was written by Aharon in

is a precious 13<sup>th</sup> century codex of the *Old Testament* (Urb. Ebr. 1) which Federico took as spoil of war at the sack of Volterra in 1472.<sup>16</sup> There is further a small collection of some 70 volumes in *volgare* and in other 'modern' languages: among these there are four in French, including a manuscript of the *Romanz de la Rose*, written by a certain *Bertaut dachi* in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>17</sup>, and one in Catalan, sc. the fourth part of the *Estoria general del mundo* by King Alfonso X 'El Sabio' of Spain, dating from 1280.<sup>18</sup>

Among those in *volgare*<sup>19</sup>, there are many smaller and occasional poems by court poets such as, for instance, by Gaugello de Gaugelli (the

1473, as the *subscriptio* in Hebrew states, which was rendered by Stornajolo in Latin as follows: 'Ego Aharon filius B. Gabrielis scribae scripsi hunc librum pro Domino magno Comite Urbini, eique finem imposui die IV mensis Aprilis anni 5233 <sc. 1473> hic Florentiae' (Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I, 16).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Luigi Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario "docto, acorto et diligente" della biblioteca urbinata alle fine del Quattrocento', in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda* a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita, vol. II, Studi e Testi, 220 (Città del Vaticano, 1962), pp. 255-280 (p. 263); Maria Moranti, 'Organizzazione della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, III: *La cultura*, pp. 19-49 (p. 27 n. 26, p. 32 n. 45); Walter Tommasoli, *La vita di Federico da Montefeltro 1422-1482* (Urbino, 1978), p. 233; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Urb. Lat. 376 (s. XIII-XIV), presumably still from the old collection of the Montefeltro under Count Antonio da Montefeltro (1363-1404), Federico's great-grandfather, who started to collect a small library that formed the basis for the great expansion since 1464 under Federico himself: see Gino Franceschini, *Figure del Rinascimento urbinato* (Urbino, 1959), pp. 116-117.

<sup>18</sup> Urb. Lat. 539, in the *subscriptio* dated 'en Era de mil et trezientos et diziocho anno' (1280), but Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, II, 35 thinks that this manuscript was copied from another manuscript written in 1280 because Urb. Lat. 539 belongs to the 14<sup>th</sup> rather than to the 13<sup>th</sup> century; it also contains Catalan translations of books of the *Old Testament*.

<sup>19</sup> One important long poem in *volgare* on the life and deeds of Federico da Montefeltro written by Giovanni Santi, the father of the painter Raffaello Santi, and dedicated to Federico's son Guidobaldo, did not find its way into the Urbino library: the manuscript, which was originally intended and executed as the dedication copy, was withdrawn by Santi, who had reworked numerous passages, so that, instead of being the dedication copy, it continued to be used as working manuscript and remained in the possession of the author until his death on 1 August 1494. Subsequently it came into the libraries of Cardinal Marcello Cervini (later Pope Marcellus II [9 April until 1 May 1555]), of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, the Duke of Altemps and in 1690 into that of Pope Alexander VIII (Pietro Ottoboni, 1689-1691) from where in 1748 it eventually came into the Biblioteca Vaticana, where it is now preserved as Vat. Ottob. Lat. 1305: see *Giovanni Santi, La vita e le gesta di Federico di Montefeltro Duca d'Urbino. Poema in terza rima* (*Codice Vat. Ottob. lat. 1305*), a cura di Luigi Michelini Tocci, Studi e Testi, 305/6 (Città del Vaticano, 1985), pp. LXV-LXXXV.

*Pellegrino* in Urb. Lat. 692)<sup>20</sup>, Angelo Galli (ca. 1395-ca. 1459), Federico's secretary who provided the young count with love poems for his erotic adventures (Urb. Lat. 699, a miscellaneous manuscript, copied by Federico Veterani, with Italian poems by Galli, Alessandro Sforza and other poets)<sup>21</sup>, or Giovanni Mario Filelfo (Urb. Lat. 804)<sup>22</sup>, but also works by Boccaccio<sup>23</sup>, the *Rime e Trionfi* and the *Canzoniere* by Petrarch<sup>24</sup>, an autograph of a first draft of the first two cantos and the stanzas 1-4 of the third canto of Tasso's *Gerusalemme* (Urb. Lat. 413)<sup>25</sup>, and several works by Dante (*Convivio*, *Canzoni*)<sup>26</sup>. Of his *Commedia* there were four manu-

<sup>20</sup> Ed. G. Vitaletti, 'Per la fortuna di Dante nel secolo XV: "Il Pellegrino" di Gaugello Gaugelli (Cod. Vat. Urb. 692)', *Giornale Dantesco*, 34 (1921), 217-225, 291-327. Cf. P. Lanzalaco, 'Gaugelli, Gaugello', in *DBI*, 52 (1999), 689-690; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 86 n. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 66 n. 19, pp. 103-105; Anna Teresa Ossani, 'Urbino zur Zeit Federicos', in *Der Ort und das Ereignis. Die Kulturzentren in der europäischen Geschichte*, edd. Aldo Venturelli – Fabio Frosini, Rombach Wissenschaften: Reihe Literatur, 89 (Freiburg i. Br., 2002), pp. 19-64 (pp. 33-34); Michelini Tocci, 'Federico da Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, I: *Lo stato*, 313 with n. 64; Gino Franceschini, 'Il poeta urbinato Angelo Galli e i duchi di Milano', *Archivio storico lombardo*, n.s. 3 (1936), 117-142; Giorgio Nonni, 'Le rime di Angelo Galli e il codice Piancastelli 267 (Forlì V 87)', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, II: *Le arti*, 327-346; Giorgio Nonni, 'Galli, Angelo', in *DBI*, 51 (1998), 596-600. On his son Federico Galli see below p. 49 with n. 200.

<sup>22</sup> It was obviously a dedication copy, written in 1471; see the description in Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, II, 379-384.

<sup>23</sup> *Madonna Fiammetta* (Urb. Lat. 690 and 1170), *Teseide* (Urb. Lat. 691) and his translation of Livy's first Decade (Urb. Lat. 422), but not his *Decamerone*.

<sup>24</sup> Urb. Lat. 681 *Rime e Trionfi*, followed by Leonardo Bruni's *Vita di messer Francesco Petrarca*, the short note on Laura from Petrarch's codex of Vergil, rendered in Italian, and the epitaph on Petrarch (s. XVI), 682 *Canzoniere e Trionfi* (s. XVI), 683 *Trionfi*, followed by some short poems of Urban V (s. XV-XVI), 684 *Rime e Trionfi* (s. XV-XVI).

<sup>25</sup> Inc. *L'Armi pietose io canto e l'alta impresa* (I, 1 which now reads *Canto l'arme pietose e l' capitano*), Expl. e *l' mal de la passata via* (III 4, 8); the text is preceded by the author's prologue. The manuscript is dedicated to Duke Guidobaldo II della Rovere (\*1514, reigned 1538-1574), great-grandson of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Maria Sforza and grandson of Giovanna (\*1462), second daughter of Federico and Battista Maria, and her husband Giovanni della Rovere, Lord of Senigallia (1458-1502); see Gino Benzoni, 'Guidobaldo II della Rovere, duca di Urbino', in *DBI*, 61 (2003), 478-488. Their son (and Guidobaldo's II father) Francesco Maria I della Rovere (\*1490, reigned 1508-1538) was adopted by Guidobaldo I, Federico's and Battista Maria's only son, on the insistence of his uncle Giuliano della Rovere (later pope Julius II, 1503-1513); in 1506 he married Eleonora Gonzaga (1494-1570), a daughter of Isabella d'Este. See Gino Benzoni, 'Francesco Maria I della Rovere, duca d'Urbino', in *DBI*, 50 (1998), 47-55.

<sup>26</sup> Urb. Lat. 686 (*Convivio* I-IV and *Canzoni* 1-15), 687 (*Canzoni*, *Magnificat*, *Salmi penitenziali* and other texts attributed to Dante, as well as poems in *volgare* by Simone Forestani, Bindo de Cione, Francesco Conte di Poppi and Pellegrino da Castiglione), 697 (a few of his *Canzoni*).

scripts: three of them date from the middle and the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>27</sup> and formed already part of the older library of Urbino under Count Antonio da Montefeltro, Federico's great-grandfather, who was educated in Florence and served as counsellor to Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Antonio himself wrote poems in *volgare*, as did his sister Battista (†1450), who later married Galeazzo Malatesta of Pesaro (\*1414, †1452, reigned until 1444)<sup>28</sup>, and showed a certain interest in culture and literature.<sup>29</sup> The most precious copy of the *Commedia*, however, is Urb. Lat. 365, a large parchment codex (490 x 240 mm) of 296 folia, written in Ferrara by Matteo de' Contugi of Volterra, whom Federico had called to Urbino around 1474<sup>30</sup>, and richly decorated with 110 miniatures, the last of which, illustrating the Paradiso, were completed under the reign of Francesco Maria II della Rovere more than 100 years after Federico's death.<sup>31</sup>

After these introductory lines (1-5) Cantalycius gives an overview of the various genres and authors whose texts can be found in Federico's library, obviously following the arrangement of the books along the walls as it is described in Federico Veterani's epigram above the entrance to the library.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly he begins with the Holy Scriptures of the New and Old Testament, the most prominent copies of which are the two Bible manuscripts Urb. Lat. 1 and 2 which were commissioned by Federico

<sup>27</sup> Urb. Lat. 366 (written in 1352), 367 (s. XIV-XV, with the commentary on *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* by Iacopo della Lana) and 378 (s. XIV-XV).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 21; Franceschini, *Figure*, pp. 149-193.

<sup>29</sup> He also possessed two manuscripts with works of Petrarch that had been copied for him: *De suis et multorum ignorantia*, written in 1373, and *De vita solitaria*, written at about the same time. Both manuscripts were later bound together in one volume (Urb. Lat. 1171). Moreover, in 1399, Gerardo Anichini dedicated to him the autograph of his heroic poem *De quibusdam miraculis Virginis Mariae occursis Mutinae* (Urb. Lat. 377); cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 21 with n. 4.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 65-66, 69 n. 27; Michelini Tocci, 'Federico da Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini', p. 337.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Luigi Michelini Tocci, *Il Dante Urbinato della Biblioteca Vaticana. Codice Urbinato Latino 365*, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi*, 29 (Città del Vaticano, 1965); Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 298. Francesco Maria II della Rovere (\* 1549, reigned 1574-1631) was the son of Guidobaldo II della Rovere and his second wife Vittoria Farnese and was the last Duke of Urbino; because his son Federico Ubaldo (\* 1605, married to Claudia de' Medici in 1621) had died already in 1623 at the age of 18, the Duchy of Urbino reverted to the Papal States after Francesco Maria II's death in 1631. See Gino Benzoni, 'Francesco Maria II della Rovere, duca d'Urbino', in *DBI*, 50 (1998), 55-60; Id., 'Federico Ubaldo della Rovere, duca d'Urbino', in *DBI*, 45 (1995), 761-767.

<sup>32</sup> See below pp. 38-39, n. 143. On the arrangement of the books in the library see Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario', pp. 255-258.



himself and executed between 1476 and 1478 in the Florentine atelier of Vespasiano da Bisticci by the copyist Ugo de Comminellis and a group of miniaturists around Francesco di Antonio del Chierico.<sup>33</sup> He then passes on to the *leges et iura Quiritum*, i.e., the so-called *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, compiled between 528 and 534 at the order of the emperor Justinian I, of which four manuscripts are preserved;<sup>34</sup> in addition to them, the Urbino library held six manuscripts of the lectures of Bartolo di Sassoferrato (1313/4-1357)<sup>35</sup> and one of those of Cino da Pistoia (1270-1336/7)<sup>36</sup> on Roman Law.

The next section is philosophy with works by Aristotle, Plato and Socrates. Aristotle was the ancient philosopher whom Federico admired most and 71 of whose writings were assembled within 24 manuscripts in the library, together with another 51 texts containing commentaries on his works.<sup>37</sup> The copy of Giannozzo Manetti's Latin translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, written in Vespasiano da Bisticci's Florentine atelier by Nicolò Riccio Spinoso and illuminated by Francesco Rosselli<sup>38</sup>, accompa-

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I, 1-6; A.R. Garzelli, *La Bibbia di Federico da Montefeltro. Un'officina libraria fiorentina (1476-1478)* (Roma, 1977); see also Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 62-64 with n. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Urb. Lat. 163-166.

<sup>35</sup> Urb. Lat. 167, 169-173. On the famous jurist and legal scholar Bartolo di Sassoferrato see the article by F. Calasso in *DBI*, 6 (1964), 640-669.

<sup>36</sup> Urb. Lat. 174. On Cino da Pistoia, who was also renowned through his poems in *volgare*, see Vincenzo Libertini, *Cino da Pistoia* (Lanciano, 1974).

<sup>37</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 40 and 42. Five translations and commentaries of Aristotle's writings are dedication copies to Federico, among which the translation of the ethical writings (*Magna Moralia*, *Ethica Eudemea*, *Ethica Nicomachea*) in Urb. Lat. 223 by Giannozzo Manetti, originally intended for King Alfonso of Aragon, but eventually dedicated by Giannozzo's son Angelo to Federico: Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 93 and 115-117. Greek manuscripts with Aristotle's works are Urb. Gr. 35 (written s. IX/X by Gregorius, subdeacon of deacon Arethas), 36 (s. XV, containing the *Physics*, with Federico's stemma on f. 1), 37 (s. XIV, containing *De caelo* and other — mostly spurious — writings, i.a. *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorologica I*, etc., with Federico's stemma on f. h<sup>v</sup>), 38 (written s. XV by Michael Apostoles [† ca. 1486 on Crete] and containing, among others, *Meteorologica I-IV*, *De anima*, *Physica*), 39 (written s. XV-XVI partly by Michael Apostoles and containing the *Historia animalium*, *De motu animalium* and some pseudo-Aristotelian writings), 42 (s. XV, containing the *Ethica Nicomachea*, with Federico's stemma on f. b<sup>v</sup>), 43 (s. XV, containing the *Ethica Nicomachea* and *Magna Moralia*), 44 (s. XV, containing the *Ethica Nicomachea* and other writings), 46 (s. XV, containing the *Politica* and *Oeconomica*, with Federico's stemma on f. 1), 47 (s. XV, containing, among others, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, the *Rhetorica*, and the *Poetica*), etc.; see also Vespasiano da Bisticci, 'Comentario de la vita del Signore Federico, Duca d'Urbino', in *Le vite*, ed. critica con introduzione e commento di Aulo Greco, 2 vols (Firenze, 1976), I, 355-416 (p. 395 n. 2).

<sup>38</sup> Urb. Lat. 223, see the preceding n. 37.

nied Federico as a kind of Vademecum everywhere on his campaigns, and in the intervals between the fighting he either read it himself or had someone read it to him.<sup>39</sup> The reference to Socrates' words includes not only Plato's *Dialogues*, copies of which were present in the library in translations by both Leonardo Bruni<sup>40</sup> and Marsilio Ficino<sup>41</sup>, but also Xenophon's *Memorabilia* and his other Socratic writings, of which several manuscripts of the Greek originals were present in Federico's library.<sup>42</sup> Represented

<sup>39</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 80 n. 5; Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 380.

<sup>40</sup> Urb. Lat. 1314, written in 1472 by Gherardo del Ciriagio, containing *Phaedo*, *Gorgias*, *Phaedrus*, *Apologia*, and *Crito*. Plato's *Letters* I-XII, also in Bruni's translation, are contained in Urb. Lat. 1313 (s. XV), a miscellany of various letter collections (Plato, Hippocrates, Diogenes [of Sinope], M. Brutus, Phalaris).

<sup>41</sup> Ficino's translation of (a selection of) Plato's *Dialogues*, commissioned by Federico and executed in Vespasiano da Bisticci's atelier in 1482, was completed only after Federico's death and purchased for the Urbino library by Federico's brother Ottaviano Ubaldini in 1484 (Urb. Lat. 185, containing *Hipparchus*, the Ps.-Platonic *Amatores*, *Theages*, *Alcibiades Maior* and *Minor*, the Ps.-Platonic *Minos*, *Eutiphron* [sic], *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Hippias Maior*, *Lysis*, *Theaetetus* and *Ion*, together with Ficino's proem to Lorenzo de' Medici and his commentary on the *Symposium*; Federico's stemma is shown on f. 7). On Ficino's relations with the court in Urbino see Maria Grazia Pernis, 'Marsilio Ficino ed il suo influsso nella Corte di Urbino', *Studi Umanistici Piceni* 12 (1992), 181-187. — In addition, Federico possessed Plato's *Timaeus* in the late antique translation of Chalcidius and with Chalcidius' commentary (Urb. Lat. 203, s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2), and *De legibus* and the *Epinomis* in the translation of George of Trebizond (Urb. Lat. 228, s. XV, written in the scriptorium of Urbino towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century): in the latter two dialogues, however, Socrates no longer figures as interlocutor. The Ps.-Platonic *Axiochus*, translated by Rinuccio Aretino, is included in Urb. Lat. 1194 (written by Federico Veterani, with Federico's stemma on f. 1<sup>v</sup>). This translation was edited by Dean P. Lockwood, 'De Rinuccio Aretino Graecarum litterarum interprete', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 24 (1913), 51-109 (pp. 103-104); cf. also Antonio Belli, 'Le versioni umanistiche dell' *Assioco* pseudoplatonico', *La Parola del Passato*, 9 (1954), 442-467, and Gilbert Tournoy, 'Marsile Ficini, Agricola et leurs traductions de l'*Axiochos*', in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius, 1444-1485. Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen, 28-30 October 1985*, ed. by Fokke Akkerman and Arjo J. Vanderjagt (Leiden etc., 1988), pp. 211-218 (p. 213) (I owe the information on the translations of the *Axiochus* to Gilbert Tournoy). Another collection of Platonic dialogues in Marsilio Ficino's translation (except the *Axiochus* translated by Rudolf Agricola) is preserved in Urb. Lat. 1315-1317 (s. XVI-XVII, chart.), a manuscript that was obviously copied from a printed edition (Peruzzi's remark [*Cultura*, pp. 36 n. 4, 93] about a copy of the *De regno Politicus* dedicated to Federico seems to be an error). Today we only know seven manuscripts with the Greek text, dating from the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: Urb. Gr. 32 and 33 (both s. XV and written by Leonardo Aretino), 34 (s. XV, perhaps written by Marcus Musurus), 33 (s. XV-XVI), and 28-30 (s. XVII, chart.). Obviously a misprint ('X.' for 'XV.') is A. Greco's remark in Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 395, n. 3, that there was a 10<sup>th</sup> century Greek manuscript with Plato's *Dialogues* in Federico's library.

<sup>42</sup> Urb. Gr. 93 (s. XV), 94 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. a<sup>v</sup>), 95 (consisting of two parts, written by various hands of the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, contains also various excerpts

in Latin translations only were the *Hiero* (by Leonardo Bruni) in Urb. Lat. 1164<sup>43</sup> and two translations of the *Cyropaedia*: one by Poggio in Urb. Lat. 460, where, on the last folio (122<sup>v</sup>), Federico Veterani, secretary, scribe and librarian of Federico, added the famous note of Ottaviano Ubaldini's death in Cagli on 27 July 1498<sup>44</sup>, the other one by Francesco Filelfo in Urb. Lat. 410 (dated Milan, 21 September 1467) with a miniature on f. 1<sup>r</sup> showing Federico riding on a richly decorated horse, a sword in his left hand, and King Cyrus, seated on his throne and, while speaking to Federico, pointing his scepter towards him.<sup>45</sup>

It is unclear, however, what Cantalycius might have meant by the 'numerous volumes of the writings of Chrysippus' (v. 13), as no works have been preserved either by the Stoic philosopher or by his namesake and older contemporary, a physician and author of several medical writings, and this name nowhere occurs among the *Codices Urbinates*. In v. 14 Cantalycius touches on the medical manuscripts, a few of which are extant — Hippocrates<sup>46</sup>, Dioscurides<sup>47</sup>, Celsus<sup>48</sup>, Galen<sup>49</sup>, Avicenna's

from Greek and Byzantine authors) and 117 (written by various hands of the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, containing *Agésilas*, *Anabasis*, *Convivium*, *Cyropaedia*, *De equitatu*, *De Spartanorum republica*, *Hellenica*, *Hiero*, *Memorabilia*, *Oeconomicus* and works by Lysias, Theodoretus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus); cf. Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 396 n. 15.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. David Marsh, 'Xenophon', in Paul O. Kristeller – F. Edward Cranz – Virginia Brown (red.), *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: mediaeval and renaissance Latin translations and commentaries: annotated lists and guides* (Washington, 1960–) [hereafter *CTC*], 7 (1992), 75-196 (pp. 149-155 on Bruni's translation).

<sup>44</sup> On Poggio's translation see Marsh, 'Xenophon', 118-121. See also below p. 38 with n. 142.

<sup>45</sup> Illustration in Robert de La Sizeranne, *Federico di Montefeltro: capitano, principe, mecenate* (1422 / 1482), prefazione, traduzione, note aggiuntive e ricerca iconografica di Carmine Zeppieri (Urbino, 1972 [original French edition: Paris, 1927]), p. 118. On Filelfo's translation see Marsh, 'Xenophon', 121-123 and Jeroen De Keyser, *Francesco Filelfo traduttore di Senofonte* (Torino: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2008), who offers a critical edition of Filelfo's *Xenophontis De Paedia Cyri regis Persarum Libri VIII* (I owe this information to Gilbert Tournoy).

<sup>46</sup> Urb. Lat. 1313, a letter collection of s. XV (see above n. 40), contains the Ps.-Hippocratic Letters 1-14 in Rinuccio Aretino's translation. Some of his Greek writings are transmitted in Urb. Gr. 64 (s. X-XI), 65 (s. XIV, chart.) and 68 (s. XIV, chart.). See the description in Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci*, pp. 70-77 and 84-92.

<sup>47</sup> A Latin translation of his *De virtutibus herbarum* is transmitted in Urb. Lat. 1383 (s. XII); cf. John M. Riddle, 'Dioscorides', in *CTC*, 4 (1980), 1-144 (p. 27a). Urb. Gr. 66 (s. XV) contains various Greek texts by Dioscurides, see Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci*, pp. 77-80.

<sup>48</sup> The only ms. of Celsus in Federico's library is Urb. Lat. 249 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1).

<sup>49</sup> There are six Greek mss. known with works by Galen: Urb. Gr. 64 (s. X-XI, containing a selection of Hippocrates' writings and, among others, Galen's commentary on the seven

*Canon*<sup>50</sup> —, in v. 15, on the mathematical, geometrical and astronomical writings<sup>51</sup> that were also present in Federico's library — treatises by Euclid<sup>52</sup> and Archimedes<sup>53</sup>, Boethius' *Arithmetics*<sup>54</sup>, Vitruvius' books *On Architecture*<sup>55</sup>, the *Phaenomena Arati* of Germanicus Caesar<sup>56</sup>, Manilius'

sections of Book VI of Hippocrates' *Epidemiae*, with Federico's stemma on f. b<sup>v</sup>), 65 (written by a certain Christodoulos s. XIV, containing Galen's *Expositio* on Hippocrates' *Aphorismi*), 67 (ff. 53-275 s. XIII, the remaining folia 1-52 and 276-419 s. XIV and XV, containing various works by Galen, see Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales Graeci*, pp. 80-84), 69 (s. X-XI, containing Galen *De usu partium libri XVII*, with Federico's stemma on f. a<sup>v</sup>), and 70 (s. XV, containing various works by Galen). Urb. Gr. 68 (s. XIV) contains two short introductions to Hippocrates. Latin translations of Galen's works are transmitted in Urb. Lat. 235 (s. XIV), 236 (s. XIV, together with other medical works by Constantinus Africanus, Avicenna and Roger [Frugardi] of Parma [or Salerno]), 247 (s. XIV), and 248 (s. XIV-XV).

<sup>50</sup> There are three mss. of his *Canon* in the translation of Gerard of Cremona: next to the just mentioned Urb. Lat. 236 (see n. 49), the Urb. Lat. 240 (s. XIV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2) and 241 (s. XIV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2). Federico also owned two mss. of Avicenna's philosophical works: Urb. Lat. 186 (s. XV, *Physica*) and 187 (s. XV, *Metaphysica, De anima*). Moreover, there were also translations of other Arabic medical writers as, for instance, Haly ben Abbas' *Liber totius medicinae* (Urb. Lat. 234, s. XV), Rhasis Mahumet's *Liber Elhawi* (Urb. Lat. 237, s. XV, and 239, s. XIV) and *Liber divisionum et Almansor* (Urb. Lat. 248, s. XIV, together with medical treatises by Johannes filius Mesuë junior and others). Generally speaking, Greek and Arabic medicine in Latin translations occupied a prominent place in the library, see Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 391.

<sup>51</sup> On the role of astrology at the court of Urbino see Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 227-233.

<sup>52</sup> Euclid's *Elementorum libri I-XV* are preserved in Urb. Lat. 506 (s. XV, translated and commented by Giovanni Antonio Campano, with Federico's stemma on f. 2) and 507 (s. XIV, together with works by Johannes de Sacrobosco), his *Optica (De aspectuum diversitate)* in Urb. Lat. 1329 (written in 1458, together with works by Claudius Ptolemaeus and Machometus); illustrations from that ms. in *Vedere i Classici. L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall'età romana al tardo medioevo*, a cura di Marco Buonocore (Roma, 1996), pp. 380-383 (Alberto Bartòla-Giorgio Stabile). The only Greek ms. that contains two short texts by Euclid is the 17<sup>th</sup> century paper miscellaneous codex Urb. Gr. 77.

<sup>53</sup> The only ms. known is Urb. Lat. 261 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1) containing *De sphaera et cylindro, Circuli dimensio, De conoidalibus et sphaeroidibus figuris, De lineis spiralibus, Planorum aequae ponderantium inventa, De quadratura parabolae, De arenae numero*; illustrations from that ms. in Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici*, pp. 408-413 (Alberto Bartòla-Giorgio Stabile).

<sup>54</sup> Urb. Lat. 1346 (chart., written in 1462, with Federico's stemma on f. 1) and 1359 (written in 1457 by Arnout Veerde of Zoutbommel). There are also several mss. with the philosophical works of Boethius, among which two of his *Consolatio Philosophiae* in Latin (Urb. Lat. 671 and 677, both s. XIV) and two in Italian translation (Urb. Lat. 675 and 676, both s. XV).

<sup>55</sup> Urb. Lat. 293 (s. XII) and 1360 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1).

<sup>56</sup> Preserved in Urb. Lat. 1358 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2), a miscellany of astronomical writings that also contains the *De astronomia* of C. Iulius Hyginus, both texts with scholia, and excerpts from Pliny and Martianus Capella; see Buonocore, *Vedere i classici*, p. 414 (Alberto Bartòla) with illustration of f. 3.

*Astronomica*<sup>57</sup>, the *Mathesis* by Firmicus Maternus<sup>58</sup>, the *Apotelesmatica* (or *Tetrabiblos*) by Claudius Ptolemaeus of Alexandria<sup>59</sup> and Pontano's commentary on the (pseudo-Ptolemaic) *Centiloquium*<sup>60</sup>, or Ficino's translation of Hermes Trismegistus<sup>61</sup>, whereas the collections of *Prognostica* by Paul of Middelburg and James of Spiers seem to have been offered to Federico in printed form<sup>62</sup> —, and in v. 16, on the geographers like Strabo<sup>63</sup> and Claudius Ptolemaeus, of whose *Geography* Federico possessed not only three mss. in the Latin translation of Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia<sup>64</sup>, but also a famous late 13<sup>th</sup> century Greek manuscript

<sup>57</sup> Urb. Lat. 667 (s. XV, written in Vespasiano da Bisticci's Florentine atelier, with Federico's stemma on f. 4) and 668 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1). Both mss. contain also the *Liber medicinalis* of Q. Serenius Sammonicus and 668, in addition, the so-called *Commentarium medicinale* (or *Carmen medicinale*) wrongly attributed to Archbishop Benedictus 'Crispus' of Milan (†732).

<sup>58</sup> Urb. Lat. 263 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1), written perhaps by Gundisalvus Hispanus (see below n. 63).

<sup>59</sup> Under the title *Quadripartita*, translated in 1138 from an Arabic version by Plato of Tivoli (Plato Tiburtinus) in cooperation with the Jewish mathematician Abraham Savasorda, it is preserved, together with two other Arabic astronomical treatises (Ali filii Hamet, *De electionibus libri II*, translated by 'Abraamus Iudaeus Hispanus', i.e., Abraham Savasorda, and Omar seu Aomar, *De nativitatibus libri IV*, translated by Johannes Hispalensis), in Urb. Lat. 267 (written s. XIV by Johannes de Olargiis from Narbonne, with Federico's stemma on f. 4). The only Greek ms. containing his *Harmonicorum libri III*, together with the commentaries by Porphyry and the monk Barlaam of Calabria (†1348 as bishop of Gerace) and numerous other astronomical and mathematical works, is Urb. Gr. 77, a 17<sup>th</sup> century paper codex. A number of excerpts is preserved in the miscellaneous cod. Urb. Gr. 80 (chart., s. XIV-XV, with Federico's stemma on f.a). In the section 'Mathematici' of Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae Graeci*, pp. 95-130 (codd. 71-83), the writings of other mathematical and astronomical authors that were present in Federico's library are listed (Proclus, Pappus of Alexandria, Eutocius of Ascalon, Diophantes, Cleomedes, Hero of Alexandria, a.o.).

<sup>60</sup> Urb. Lat. 1393, written in 1477 and dedicated by Pontano to Federico.

<sup>61</sup> Urb. Lat. 226 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1); see also above n. 41.

<sup>62</sup> There are three *Prognostica* by Paul of Middelburg for the years 1480 (Venice, 1479), 1481 (Venice, 1480) and 1482 (Venice, 1481) and one by James of Spiers for the year 1475 (s.l., 1475); cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 82, 85 with n. 16, 93, 162, 163. The ms. of Paul of Middelburg's treatise on algebra, dedicated to Federico, is lost (Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 84 n. 13).

<sup>63</sup> Urb. Gr. 81 (written s. XV by Michael Apostoles) only contains books X-XVII. Urb. Lat. 280 (written s. XV by Gundisalvus Hispanus, with Federico's stemma on f. 1<sup>v</sup>) gives the complete text in the translation by Guarino of Verona and Gregorio Tifernate.

<sup>64</sup> Urb. Lat. 274 (s. XV, with 31 maps and the dedicatory epistle of the cartographer Nicolaus Germanus on f. 1), 275 (s. XV, with 30 maps, the dedicatory epistle of the cartographer Nicolaus Germanus and Federico's stemma on f. 1) and 277 (written in Florence in 1472/3 by Ugo de Commineau [Ugo Commineau] from Mézières, with 34 geographical maps and 10 maps of the cities of Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo, and Volterra: facsimile edition

with 26 coloured maps that Manuel Chrysoloras had brought to Italy in 1397.<sup>65</sup>

by A. Dürst, *Die Cosmographia des Claudius Ptolemaeus*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi, 53 [Zürich, 1983]). On the translator Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia (ca. 1360-1411) cf. also Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 464-465; II, 375 and 407, and Roberto Weiss, 'Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia', in *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi*, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Filosofia dell'Università di Roma, 1-2, 2 vols (Firenze, 1955), II, 801-827. — In addition, Urb. Lat. 275 f.86<sup>v</sup> and Urb. Lat. 277 f. 124<sup>v</sup> contain two short hexameter poems by Federico Veterani in praise of Federico (on Veterani see below pp. 35-39). The first one reads:

Italia en felix, si non succumbere Gallis  
fata darent, propria si se virtute tueri  
sciret, ut ipsa potest, potuit, dum vita manebat  
custodis, post quem studia ob contraria scissa est.  
Ipsa externorum tantum iam facta sepulchrum  
post multas clades nomen sibi vindicat istud.

The second one reads:

Dux Federice, tibi laus hec est iure tributa [iure scripsi, in re cod., Stornajolo, Bartòla],  
huius eras custos cum regibus Parthenopeis.

On the Latin mss. of Ptolemaeus' *Cosmographia* (this is the usual Latin title for what in Greek is called Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις) see Germaine Aujac, *Claude Ptolémée, astronome, astrologue, géographe: connaissance et représentation du monde habité* (Paris, 1993), pp. 173-178. On the maps see Aujac, *Claude Ptolémée*, pp. 133-164, and Alfred Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort. Das illustrierte Fachbuch in der antiken Naturwissenschaft, Technik und Medizin* (Mainz, 1994), pp. 56-65. Illustrations of maps from all three Latin mss. in Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici*, pp. 437-441, 447-450, 458-460 (Alberto Bartòla); Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, pl. 12 (Urb. Lat. 277).

<sup>65</sup> Urb. Gr. 82 (s. XI according to Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae Graeci*, p. 128, but see below), with a dedicatory distich to Guidobaldo, Federico's son, on the 15<sup>th</sup> century leather board which reads:

HIS IOVE CONTEMPTO VOLVCRVM REGINA SVB ARMIS  
EXVLTO GVIDI SERVVLTA FACTA DVCIS.

This ms. is mentioned by Vespasiano da Bisticci in his Life of the Florentine nobleman Palla di Noferi Strozzi (*Vite*, II, p. 140) who had ordered it, together with many others, from Chrysoloras; cf. Nigel G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy. Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1992), pp. 8-9. Various dates between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries have been assigned to it but it is now confidently dated around 1300 and is seen as a result of Planudes' redaction, perhaps even the copy Planudes ordered to be made for the emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus: see Aujac, *Claude Ptolémée*, pp. 165-169; Alfred Stückelberger, 'Planudes und die *Geographia* des Ptolemaios', *Museum Helveticum*, 53 (1996), 197-205. Facsimile edition by Joseph Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinae Graecus* 82, Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi, 19, 4 vols (Leiden, 1932). Illustrations of maps from Urb. Gr. 82 in Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici*, pp. 238-241 (Marco D'Agostino); Stückelberger, *Bild und Wort*, pl. 10. See now the new bilingual edition, *Klaudios Ptolemaios, Handbuch der Geographie. Griechisch-Deutsch*, hg. von Alfred Stückelberger und Gerd Graßhoff, 2 vols (Basel, 2006), where a reconstruction of the maps can be found in vol. 2, pp. 748-751, 765, 774-907. - Another ms. of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century is Urb. Gr. 83, in which the *Geography* is preceded by the

The next distich (v. 17-18) summarizes the Latin and Greek historiographers whose writings were assembled almost in their entirety in the library, often in more than one manuscript. The Greek authors include Herodotus<sup>66</sup>, Thucydides<sup>67</sup>, Plutarch<sup>68</sup> (for whose *Lives* Federico had a special predilection) and Flavius Josephus<sup>69</sup> in Latin translations as well. It also includes the works of the historiographers of the Quattrocento, for instance, the *Historia Florentina* by Poggio Bracciolini<sup>70</sup>, the *Historia*

*Periegesis* of Dionysius Periegetes; at the end it contains only four maps with the three continents (two for Asia). Illustrations of maps from Urb. Gr. 83 in Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici*, pp. 361-363 (Marco D'Agostino).

<sup>66</sup> Urb. Gr. 88 (written by Rhosus of Crete s. XV) and Urb. Lat. 430 (s. XV) in the translation by Lorenzo Valla.

<sup>67</sup> Urb. Gr. 89 (s. XV, preceded by Marcellinus' and an anonymous author's Life of Thucydides and the treatise *De Thucydidis idiomatis* by Dionysius of Halicarnassus), 90 (s. XV), 91 (written almost entirely by Michael Apostoles s. XV, with the same Lives and treatise as Urb. Gr. 89), and 92 (chart., s. XIII-XIV, with Marcellinus' Life and the treatise by Dionysius of Halicarnassus); at the beginning and the end bound together with some folia membr. [ff. 1-3 and 270-272] s. XI containing short excerpts from Pollux's *Onomasticon*). The translation by Lorenzo Valla is preserved in Urb. Lat. 429 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1); cf. Marianne Pade, 'Thucydides', in *CTC*, 8 (2003), 103-181 (pp. 120-128 on Valla's translation).

<sup>68</sup> The *Vitae parallelae* are transmitted in Urb. Gr. 96 (written by the monk Stephanus and a second scribe in 1415) and 97 (ff. 14-273, s. X, incomplete, with the following note indicating Leonardo Bruni's ownership on f. VIII: 'Liber dñi leonardi de arretio die XVIII Martij 1457'). Latin translations by various translators are preserved in Urb. Lat. 443-449 (all s. XV), in Urb. Lat. 448 together with the Lives of Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, Socrates and Seneca by Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459, his Life in Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 485-538, see also above p. 12 with nn. 37-38) and those of Carolus Magnus, Hannibal and Scipio by Donato degli Acciaiuoli (1429-1478, his Life in Bisticci, *Vite*, II, 21-50). On the Greek mss. see Marianne Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's Lives in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Renaissancestudier, 14, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2007), I, 159-160, 261; on the Latin ones, II, 259-261; on other texts by Plutarch dedicated to Federico or Guidobaldo, I, 313-315, 336; II, 23-25.

<sup>69</sup> In the Greek original, only his history of the Jewish War (*De bello Iudaico*) is preserved in Urb. Gr. 84 (s. XI, with Federico's stemma on the later inserted f. g) and 85 (s. XII, with Federico's stemma on f. a<sup>v</sup>). In Latin translations, three of his main works were present in the library: the *Antiquitates Iudaicae* in the translation prompted by Cassiodorus (in the ms. wrongly attributed to Rufinus) in Urb. Lat. 400 (s. XIV), *De bello Iudaico* in the anonymous late antique translation (5<sup>th</sup> century?) in Urb. Lat. 384 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2), and his *De vetustate Iudaeorum in Apionem grammaticum* (*Contra Apionem*), also in the translation prompted by Cassiodorus, in Urb. Lat. 391 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2). See also *The Latin Josephus. I: Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I-V*, by Franz Blatt (København, 1958), pp. 17-24 (on the translation) and p. 30 (on Urb. Lat. 400). On Cassiodorus' activities concerning the translation see his *Inst.* 1, 17, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Urb. Lat. 491, written by Gundisalvus Hispanus (see above p. 16, n. 58 and n. 63 and below p. 34 n. 132) s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1; a drawing on f. II shows Federico on a horseback, and a coastal city, perhaps Volterra.

*Florentini populi* by Leonardo Bruni<sup>71</sup>, the *Commentarii* on the life of Federico by Francesco Filelfo<sup>72</sup>, the *Vita Temyris* by his son Giovanni Mario<sup>73</sup>, the Life of Federico's teacher Vittorino da Feltre by Francesco Prendilacqua<sup>74</sup>, and the *Cronaca di Gubbio* (in *volgare*) by Ser Guerriero da Gubbio.<sup>75</sup>

With the names of Demosthenes<sup>76</sup> and Cicero in v. 19, whose works alone filled 16 volumes<sup>77</sup>, Cantalycius alludes to the large holdings of

<sup>71</sup> Urb. Lat. 464, s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2. Illustration of f. 2r in Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 180, pl. XVIII.

<sup>72</sup> Urb. Lat. 1022, s. XV, chart., followed on ff. 67-84 by Giovanni Antonio Campano's fragments on the life of Federico (on Campano see below p. 26 n. 104).

<sup>73</sup> Urb. Lat. 1196, s. XV. The full title reads: 'Descriptio summaria vitae Temyris, regis Turcorum, viri praestantissimi et summa laude cumulati'. In the circle of the first initial 'O' a youthful portrait of the author Giovanni Mario Filelfo is inscribed.

<sup>74</sup> Urb. Lat. 987, s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1.

<sup>75</sup> Urb. Lat. 1753, s. XV-XVI and XVII, followed on ff. 54-91 by various letters and other shorter historical and genealogical works in *volgare*. A later copy of 1577 is preserved in Urb. Lat. 944.

<sup>76</sup> The Urbino library possessed three Greek mss. of his speeches (with *scholia* and *argumenta*): Urb. Gr. 113 (s. XI, with Federico's stemma on f. b'), 114 (written s. XV by Johannes Scutariotes) and 115 (written s. XV by the same scribe) and several mss. with his letters, excerpts from his speeches and learned material (*argumenta*, *scholia*, *lexicon*). In Latin translation only a few speeches are preserved: *Pro Ctesiphonte*, translated by Lorenzo Valla, in Urb. Lat. 337 (s. XV, together with some other works by Valla and his dedicatory preface to Federico whose stemma is on f. 2), *In Dionysidorum* by an unknown translator in Urb. Lat. 1028, a miscellaneous ms. (s. XVII) with various orations in Latin and Italian, *Ad Alexandrum regem*, translated by Leonardo Bruni, in Urb. Lat. 1173 (written ca. 1458), a miscellaneous ms. with various other translations by Bruni and works by Coluccio Salutati, Maffeo Vegio a.o., and a selection of his speeches, together with two speeches by Aeschines, again translated by Bruni, in Urb. Lat. 1165 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2); cf. Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 396.

<sup>77</sup> For reasons of brevity, I give only the mss. and works by Cicero contained therein: Urb. Lat. 311 (s. XV: *De oratore*, *Brutus*, *Orator*), 312 (s. XV: *De natura deorum*), 313 (s. XV: *Epistulae ad familiares*), 315 (s. XIV-XV: *Tusculanae disputationes*), 316 (written in 1453: *Epistulae ad familiares*), 318 (s. XV: *Opera rhetorica et philosophica*), 319 (s. XV: *Opera philosophica*), 320 (s. XV: Orations by Cicero, Ps.-Cicero and Ps.-Salustius), 321 (s. XV: *Philippicae*, *In Q. Caecilium*, *In Verrem* II 1-5), 322 (s. XV: *Ad Quintum fratrem*, *Ad Atticum*, Ps.-Cicero *Ad Octavium*, Correspondence of Ps.-Cicero with Ps.-Brutus), 323 (s. XV: *De officiis*, *Tusculanae disputationes*, *De finibus*), 328 (written in 1481: *Topica*, with the commentary by Boethius), 1143 (s. XV: *De inventione*), 1144 (s. XII: *De inventione*, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*), 1147 (s. XV: *De officiis*), 1400 (s. XV: *De finibus*). Selections from his writings are preserved in Urb. Lat. 544 (s. XV: florilegium of *sententiae*), 886 (s. XV-XVI: selected letters), 1166 (s. XV-XVI: selected letters from the *Epistulae ad familiares*). Some of his works existed also in Italian translation: Urb. Lat. 1142 (s. XV: *Degli offici*, *Le paradoxe*, *Della vecchiezza*), 1148 and 1242 (both s. XVI: *Contro Catilina*, translated by Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino [1574-1631]), 1149 (s. XVI-XVII: *Della vecchiezza*): these translations, however, came into the library only after Federico's death.



rhetorical writings and oratory among which, again, contemporary authors held a prominent place.<sup>78</sup> In v. 20 the enumeration of authors, works and genres is brought to a close with the 'Fathers of Grammar': Nonius Marcellus<sup>79</sup>, Priscianus<sup>80</sup> and the contemporaries, Lorenzo Valla<sup>81</sup>, Niccolò Perotti<sup>82</sup> or Sigismondo Golfo da Pergola, who had dedicated to Federico a collection with grammatical writings of late Antiquity by Diomedes, Agroecus, Albinus and Nonius Marcellus<sup>83</sup> — texts which were all present on the shelves.

In v. 21-22 the poet rounds off the short *tour d'horizon* with a comparison of Federico's library with the famous libraries of Pisistratus in Athens and the Ptolemies in Alexandria, the *Niliaca urbs* (v. 22), the founders of which, he claims, had not been able to decorate their libraries with nearly as many books as Federico did.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 41-42, 93-94.

<sup>79</sup> His *De compendiosa doctrina*, together with the excerpts from Festus by Paulus Diaconus and other excerpts from Servius and Isidor of Seville by Guarino Veronese, is preserved in Urb. Lat. 307 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1).

<sup>80</sup> Books I-XVI of his *Institutiones grammaticae* are preserved in Urb. Lat. 1155 (s. XII-XIII, with Federico's stemma on f. 1), Books XVII-XVIII and a selection from his other grammatical writings, together with some other treatises on metre and grammar, in Urb. Lat. 306 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1) and 1180 (written in 1448 'a Nicolao Perocto Fanensi', i.e., Niccolò Perotti; the ms. contains several treatises on grammar, metre and rhetoric by Fortunatianus, St. Augustine, Martianus Capella, Servius and Ps.-Apuleius), some smaller treatises in Urb. Lat. 308, 452 (see below n. 83) and 1157 (s. XV), another miscellany of mainly late antique grammatical writings. It is striking that the Urbino library possessed no mss. of the two *Artes* of Donatus.

<sup>81</sup> His *Elegantiae linguae latinae* and the treatise *De reciprocatione sui et suus* are preserved in Urb. Lat. 299 (written in 1452 by Baptista Lunensis) and 305 (written in Vespasiano da Bisticci's Florentine atelier in 1471 by Petrus de Traiecto, i.e. either Utrecht or Maastricht [see below p. 35 with n. 133], with Federico's stemma on f. 1).

<sup>82</sup> In the first place, there is Urb. Lat. 301 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1), the dedicatory copy for Federico of his *Cornu copiae*, with marginal notes by Perotti himself. His metrical treatises (*De metris* and *De Horatii Flacci et Severini Boethii metrorum diversitate*) are contained in the miscellany Urb. Lat. 452 (see below n. 83), his *Rudimenta grammatices* in a neat copy in Urb. Lat. 1175 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 2) whereas the autograph ms. is preserved in Vat. Lat. 6737.

<sup>83</sup> Urb. Lat. 308 (s. XV, with Federico's stemma on f. 1); see Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici*, pp. 325-326 (Paolo Marcipati) with illustration of f. 2. An epitome of Book III of Diomedes' *Ars*, together with various other grammatical and antiquarian writings by Servius, Marius Victorinus, Priscianus, Probus, Ps.-Probus a.o., is contained in Urb. Lat. 452 (written s. XV by Federico Veterani, with Federico's stemma on f. 1).

<sup>84</sup> According to Gell., 7, 17 Pisistratus had opened the first public library for the Athenians, and the Ptolemaean kings had collected a huge library of nearly 700.000 books. Pisistratus and the Ptolemies are also mentioned, together with other kings, poets and philosophers of Greece, as great collectors of books by Athenaeus 1, 3a. Manuscripts of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* were not in the library of Urbino, but three codices of

Cantalycius closes his poem (v. 23-26) with a short admonition to every visitor that he should pray for the soul of the library's founder ('sancta patris [...] foeliciter ossa quiescant') and for a long life for his son, Guidobaldo, who may surpass the Euboean Sibyl in years.

This epigram is one among many others by a number of poets who were impressed by the unique collection of books in the library of Urbino, most of which were commissioned by Federico himself and executed according to his wishes and instructions by the leading ateliers in Florence, later in Ferrara and, from 1480 on, in Urbino itself.<sup>85</sup> Of particular interest, however, is the relative clause in vv. 7-8 where it is said that a 'docta manus' does not record ('neque notat') these 'monumenta' by printing them in small letters that will soon perish but has carefully written them ('pinxit', 'painted') with a skilled hand ('facili pollice'): this, of course, alludes to the fact — also reported by other contemporaries<sup>86</sup> — that Federico allowed only manuscripts and not printed books into his library. Although there were printed books as well, these were not housed in the main library together with the codices but in another library ('alia bibliotheca') where older manuscripts that were to be transcribed anew and incomplete and still unbound codices were kept.<sup>87</sup>

However, in the second copy of his collection of epigrams in Urb. Lat. 719, dating from after 1508, Cantalycius has changed this passage: the distich v. 5-6, which refers to the Holy Scriptures, is omitted, and the first two words in v. 7, 'quae neque', are replaced by 'quos non', so that the relative clause no longer specifies the 'monumenta' of the Bible but rather the Roman and Greek 'vates' in general, whose writings are present in manuscript books and not in printed editions. It is not quite clear why Cantalycius has changed the message of his poem in such a substantial way but one may suppose that the widespread fame of the manuscripts in Federico's library and statements like Vespasiano da Bisticci's in his Life of Federico that 'all books in that library are written with pen and that there is not a single one in print of which he should have been

Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*: Urb. Lat. 309 (s. XV), 310 (s. XV) and 1174 (written s. XV by Federico Veterani).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'La formazione della biblioteca', 12-17; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 59-76; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 293-299.

<sup>86</sup> For instance, Vespasiano da Bisticci in his Life of Federico (Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 398) or Angelo Lapi in his *Carmen de laudibus Divi Principis Federici* (see below pp. 22-23).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito Bibliotecario', 258-260; Moranti, 'Organizzazione della biblioteca di Federico da Montefeltro', 38-39.

ashamed'<sup>88</sup>, may have induced Cantalycius to make such a generalisation in order to increase the praise of Federico and the House of Urbino — and to increase his own chances of an appropriate reward for his services.

Cantalycius' poem gives us a good impression of the range of authors, genres and disciplines present in the library of Urbino, though he omitted Patristics and theological literature that figured prominently in Federico's collection and were explicitly mentioned as belonging to Federico's favourite reading by Angelo Lapi (ca. 1420-1479), who, in the forties of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, stayed several years at the court of Urbino<sup>89</sup> and, after he had left Urbino, composed a *Carmen de laudibus Divi Principis Federici*, of which the dedicatory copy — a small codex of six folios only, with Federico's stemma and the initials *F* and *D* on f. 1 — is preserved (Urb. Lat. 732). Here we read the following praise of Federico's palace and library and a short portrait of Federico as reader:<sup>90</sup>

- Daedalia dux arte domum visuque superbam  
erigit Urbini, laudum monumenta suarum,  
impense regalis opus, cui denique cedunt,  
Roma, tue moles et Cesaris amphitheatrum,  
5 qua cellam insignem diversi dogmatis implet  
codicibus, magno quae principe digna supellex.  
Audit Aristotelis libros, quibus orbita recte  
tradita vivendi triplex monstratur ab illo,  
heroasque legit veteres, quos vincere certat  
10 laudibus et celebri cunctos excellere fama  
Hieronymique<sup>91</sup> etiam divina volumina patris  
atque alios, olim vitae qui labe carentis  
exemplo et scriptis docuerunt scandere caelum.

In the first four lines, Lapi praises the palace of Urbino: it seems to have been built by another Daedalus and looks rather like that of a king than,

<sup>88</sup> Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 398: 'tutti iscritti a penna, e non ve n'è ignuno a stampa, chè se ne sarebe vergognato'.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 102.

<sup>90</sup> Text according to the edition by Adolfo Cinquini, 'Un poemetto inedito latino del sec. XV', *Classici e Neolatini*, 2 (1906), 128-129; on the poem see also Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 134-137.

<sup>91</sup> The prosody of *Hieronymique* as required in this verse is unusual: Lapi wants us to scan *Hiērōny-* with synizesis of *-ie-* and *-ē-* instead of *-ě-* and *-ō-* instead of *-ō-* as in classical prose. The 23 instances in *Poetria Nova* of poetic (hexametrical) use of the name in Medieval Latin poetry from Beda, *Martyr.*, 1, 72 to Petrus Riga, *Aurora Iudith* 1 (no classical or late antique examples) show, however, that all prosodic possibilities have been used.

we have to understand, that of a mere count or duke, and it overshadows even Rome and the Coliseum. The next two lines deal with the outstanding library ('cellam insignem') which is filled with manuscripts of various disciplines ('diversi dogmatis'), a piece of furniture ('supellex') worthy of a great prince. Then follow the books Federico is mainly devoted to: Aristotle's three treatises on ethics, historical works and biographies of the great men of Antiquity whose glory and fame Federico tries to surpass, and the writings of Saint Jerome and the other Fathers who, through their life and writings, showed mankind the way to heaven.

Both Lapi and Cantalycius omit poetry although it was represented by a considerable number of manuscripts (which I cannot enumerate here), and obviously concentrate on the literature of Classical Antiquity; but they do not mention medieval and contemporary humanistic literature, which formed a substantial part of the collection.

According to the recent study by Marcella Peruzzi, the Latin collection amounted to 776 manuscripts dated or datable prior to 1500 with 2,063 works, one third of which (i.e., 657 texts) consisted of works by classical authors (including translations of Greek texts), more than a quarter (28%, i.e., 585) of theological texts, 18% (i.e., 373) of medieval texts, and 17% or 357 of texts by contemporary humanistic authors.<sup>92</sup> This distribution is to a certain degree reflected in the 28 portraits of the famous *studiolo*<sup>93</sup>, 15 of which depict ancient Greek and Latin authors from Homer to Boethius, five medieval authors (Duns Scotus, Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Petrus Abanus, and Dante), six humanistic authors from Petrarch to the popes Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini) and Sixtus IV (Francesco della Rovere); the remaining two portraits show Moses and Solomon as representatives of the Holy Scripture. In her book, Peruzzi has, I think, convincingly demonstrated the close parallelism between the portraits in the *studiolo* and the composition of Federico's library, more

<sup>92</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 35-38.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino. An Iconographic Investigation* (Wiesbaden, 1986). Italian edition: *Lo studiolo di Urbino. Iconografia di un microcosmo principesco* (Modena, 1991). Attempts at reconstruction of the arrangement of the paintings (with illustrations) are discussed by Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 15-25, 37-54 with fig. 8-40, and Cecil H. Clough, 'Art as Power in the Decoration of the Study of an Italian Renaissance Prince: The Case of Federico Da Montefeltro', *Artibus et Historiae*, 31 (1995), 19-50 (pp. 26-27); see also Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 311-337 with pl. 21-22.

than a quarter (27%) of which consists of works by these 28 great men.<sup>94</sup> They form a kind of map of the cultural programme of Federico's court and, together with the other authors and texts in the library, a manifesto of the humanistic culture of Federico who, in the intarsia section of the *studiolo*, is himself depicted right in the corner among books, musical instruments and other symbols of culture: clothed in a philosopher's robe, with a cap on his head, the spear upside down as a sign of his occupation not with war but with literature and science as part of his cultivation of the *vita contemplativa*.<sup>95</sup> A proof of the deliberate composition of the library is Federico's aspiration to have the classical and medieval texts in new, contemporary and richly decorated manuscripts which he commissioned, as we have seen, mainly from the atelier of Vespasiano da Bisticci in Florence, although he installed his own atelier in Urbino in 1480.<sup>96</sup> These manuscripts, especially written and illuminated for his library and amounting to almost 85% (or 1,784) of the total number of manuscripts of his library<sup>97</sup>, far surpass the medieval manuscripts of the ninth through the fourteenth centuries, which he also purchased through Vespasiano da Bisticci and other dealers from all over Europe.

It is true that Federico's interests tended more toward prose than poetry, and that he favoured philosophy and history above other disciplines though he cared in particular for the acquisition of works of technology and the practical arts which were useful for warfare and the economy and the administration of his duchy.<sup>98</sup> This predilection is reflected not only in the texts of authors of Classical Antiquity but also in the works of the humanist writers which he had copied for his library or whose works he received from their authors as gifts and tokens of esteem, often together with a personal letter or a poem of dedication. The humanists were, of course, hoping for a position at his court or at least for a financial remuneration for such a service.

<sup>94</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 52.

<sup>95</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 50. Illustration in Peruzzi, *Cultura*, tav. XXIII; Bernd Roeck - Andreas Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens: Federico da Montefeltro, Herzog von Urbino* (Berlin, 2005), p. 169; Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, fig. 45, 53 and 114; Lauts - Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, frontispiece (facing the title page) and pl. 25. On the inlaid decorations of the *studiolo* see Luciano Cheles, 'The Inlaid Decorations of Federico da Montefeltro's Urbino Studiolo: An Iconographic Study', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 26/1 (1982), 1-46; Id., *Lo studiolo*, pp. 55-90 with fig. 62-73.

<sup>96</sup> See above p. 21 with n. 85.

<sup>97</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>98</sup> See Lauts - Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 305-306; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 40-43, 93, 95.

In the second part of my paper I shall therefore discuss some of those works dedicated to Federico by the contemporary humanists in order to show how the literary culture at the court was not only influenced by Federico's own literary taste but also by the poetry and prose of the writers who stayed at the court in Urbino or tried to establish closer relations with it.

The figure at the centre of the cultural life at court and the person who chiefly dealt with the humanist writers and the poets was Federico's younger brother, Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda (1424-1498).<sup>99</sup> More light has been shed in the last years on the nature of his relationship to Federico, or rather, Federico's relationship to him. According to the official version of the court which can be found, for instance, in the *Commentari della vita e gesti dell'illustrissimo Federico Duca d'Urbino* by Pierantonio Paltroni<sup>100</sup>, Federico's confidant and secretary, Federico was the natural son of Guidantonio and an unknown lady, whereas Ottaviano was the son of an illegitimate daughter of Guidantonio, Auria, and her husband Bernardino Ubaldini della Carda.<sup>101</sup> The other version must at least have been tolerated by Federico because it is also mentioned by

<sup>99</sup> Luigi Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza della battaglia di Varna (1444)', in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Studi e testi, 231-237, 7 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1964), VII/2, 97-130 (pp. 97-117); Id., 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, I: *Lo stato*, pp. 297-344.

<sup>100</sup> Pierantonio Paltroni, *Commentari della vita e gesti dell' illustrissimo Federico Duca d'Urbino*, a cura di Walter Tommasoli (Urbino, 1966), pp. 20-21, 42; see further Id., *La vita di Federico da Montefeltro 1422/1482* (Urbino, 1978), pp. 9-10; Bonvini Mazzanti, *Battista Sforza Montefeltro*, p. 49 n. 143; Gino Benzoni, 'Federico da Montefeltro, duca di Urbino', in *DBI*, 45 (1995), 722-743 (pp. 722-723); Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 36-43; Roeck – Tönniesmann, *Die Nase Italiens*, pp. 23-25; Bernd Roeck, *Mörder, Maler und Mäzene: Piero della Francesca "Geißelung" - eine kunsthistorische Kriminalgeschichte* (München, 2006), pp. 71-74.

<sup>101</sup> There is evidence that since 1434 Paltroni worked in the chancery and belonged to the close entourage of Federico. Since ca. 1439/40 he wrote his *Commentari* more or less simultaneously with the events, even if their present redaction was carried out not before 1470. Paltroni was also approached by several humanists, among others by Giovanni Mario Filelfo and his father Francesco, with requests for information about Federico which they later incorporated into their poems and histories; cf. Tommasoli in the introduction to his edition of Paltroni's *Commentari* (see above n. 100), pp. 16 and 20, who emphasizes: 'Dai *Commentari* del Paltroni derivano infatti le biografie di Federico scritte da alcuni umanisti [...]. Nascono così i poemi *Feltria* di Porcelio Pandoni e *Martidos* di Giovan Mario Filelfo, i *Commentari* di Francesco Filelfo, la *Vita di Federico* di G.A. Campano, la cosiddetta *Cronaca rimata* di Giovanni Santi.' See also Aulo Greco, 'Francesco Filelfo e Federico di Montefeltro', in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte. Atti del XVII convegno di studi maceratesi, Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981*, Medioevo e umanesimo, 58 (Padova, 1986), pp. 495-514.

Paltroni in his quasi-official biography: it says that Federico was the first and legitimate child of that Auria and her husband Bernardino Ubaldini della Carda; therefore he was not the *son*, but the *grandson* of Guidantonio. Auria's pregnancy was kept secret, and the child was brought to Urbino a few months after his birth (7 June 1422) and declared the natural son of Guidantonio, whose marriage with Rengarda Malatesta had been childless. Guidantonio, being in need of a son and heir, had arranged this manoeuvre and had Federico, at the age of 2 ½ years, declared to be legitimate through a papal bull of 20 December 1424. This meant that after Guidantonio's death Federico could become the legitimate heir to his throne.<sup>102</sup> Ottaviano was therefore the *brother* and not the *nephew* of Federico, although he never showed any aspirations to the throne but rather remained the loyal younger brother with his own tasks and responsibilities: whereas Federico was the statesman and politician, the warrior and *condottiere*, Ottaviano organised the administration of the state and cultural activities and cared for the development of the library and the building of the palace.<sup>103</sup>

The shared responsibilities of Ottaviano and Federico, their common activities for the welfare of the state in different fields of competence are almost perfectly expressed in an epigram by Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-1477), written in 1475/6 and transmitted in Urb. Lat. 338, a manuscript with poems and various epigrams by Campano.<sup>104</sup> Our epigram (f. 229<sup>r</sup>) reads as follows:<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The course of events, however, changed this plan: on 18 January 1427 Guidantonio's second wife, Caterina Colonna, gave birth to a son, Oddantonio, who was now the legitimate heir and succeeded his father to the throne after the latter's death on 19 February 1443. As a consequence, and also because Caterina Colonna forced her husband to do so, Federico was removed from the court in Urbino and sent to Sant'Angelo in Vado where he was educated by the widow of a small vassal in the Papal States, Giovanna Brancalone, whose daughter Gentile Federico at the age of 15½ years was eventually to marry on 2 December 1437. On his further biography until his ascension to the throne in 1444, which cannot be pursued here in detail, see Benzoni, 'Federico da Montefeltro', 722-743; Tommasoli, *La vita di Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 14-29; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 51-72.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 310-311, 318-321; Roeck – Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens*, p. 176.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the description in Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinate Latini*, II, 310-315. On Campano see Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 385 with n.1 and p. 393 with n. 4; Frank Rutger Hausmann, 'Giovanni Antonio Campano (1429-1477). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des italienischen Humanismus im Quattrocento', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 12 (1970), 125-178; Id., 'Campano, Giovanni Antonio', in *DBI*, 17 (1974), 424-429; Flavio Di Bernardo, *Un Vescovo umanista dalla Corte Pontificia, Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)* (Roma,

- Octavi, insignis maioribus, inclite fama  
 clareque fraterno nomine, clare tuo:  
 Bella placent illi durique insignia Martis,  
 at tibi tranquillo convenit esse domi.
- 5 Hunc movet horrenti stridens cava buccina cornu,  
 excitat armatos cum tuba rauca viros,  
 te lyra, te, quicquid dulces cecinere puellae,  
 dum se Libetrices<sup>106</sup> ore sonante canunt.
- Sic bene partita est regni communis utrique  
 10 res et succedet sic bene Guido puer:  
 Artibus instructus patriis et moribus ambos  
 effinget: patruī consilia, arma patris.

In the first distich Campano addresses Ottaviano with fourfold praise: of his ancestors, his fame, his reputation through the name of his brother, and through his own name. The following three distichs are variations on the different interests and activities of the brothers: Federico likes battles and the emblems of war, Ottaviano prefers to be at leisure at home. Federico is roused by the sound of the war-trumpets on the battlefield, Ottaviano is delighted with the lyre and with the songs of the sweet maidens, while the Libethrian nymphs sing with melodious voice.<sup>107</sup> The final two

1975), pp. 318-323. On the relations of Campano to Federico, especially on Campano's Life of Federico, see Giovanni Zannoni, 'Federico II di Montefeltro e G.A. Campano', *Bollettino della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze morali*, 38 (1902-1903), 108-118. Since 1474 Campano tried to become 'Hofdichter des Hauses Aragon in Neapel und des Herzogs von Urbino' (Frank Rutger Hausmann, 'Untersuchungen zum neulateinischen Epigramm Italiens im Quattrocento', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 21 (1972), 1-35 (p. 16)), but in spite of his good relations with Federico and Ottaviano, his hopes were not fulfilled.

<sup>105</sup> The text according to Pieri Cecchini, 'Per un'edizione critica dei *carmina* di Gianantonio Campano', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 5 (1982), 53-76 (p. 71); cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 106 with n. 43; Id., 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 338 n. 121.

<sup>106</sup> *Libēthrus*, -i or *Libēthra*, -orum was the name of a fountain grotto in Thessaly, dedicated to the Muses; in Verg., *ecl.*, 7, 21 the Muses are called *nymphae Libethrides*. The classical prosody *Libēthridēs* is here changed to *Libēthridēs*.

<sup>107</sup> V. 8 seems grammatically unclear: 'se canunt' must mean that the Muses are singing of themselves, i.e., of their own activities and their protection they grant the artists, and thus are praising themselves, but the expression 'se canere' is, according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (München, 1900-), III/2, 268, 57-58, only once testified in a letter (22, 12) of Saint Jerome: 'Salomon, per quem se cecinit ipsa Sapientia' and therefore, at least in a poetical text, somewhat doubtful. Moreover, v. 8 says more or less the same as 'quicquid dulces cecinere puellae' in v. 7; but one would gain a better sense if one would change 'se' in 'te' (which can palaeographically easily be explained): 'You, Ottaviano, are moved by the lyre, you by the songs of the sweet maidens, when the Libethrian Muses are singing of you with melodious voice'.



distichs draw the conclusion from this and see it as a good omen for Federico's son Guido(baldo), whose tutor Ottaviano was already during his brother's lifetime and especially after Federico's death in 1482: the rule of the state is well distributed between the two brothers, and when Guido will come into their place, he will be well prepared: versed in his father's skills and manners, he will be an image of both the prudence of his uncle and the military talent of his father.

Similar is a funeral elegy by Sante Cerasi of Viterbo, addressed to Federico on the occasion of the death of Battista Sforza, which was incorporated by Federico Veterani into the collection of Urb. Lat. 1193. I quote only the section referring to Ottaviano (f. 105<sup>v</sup>):<sup>108</sup>

- Frater adest tecum, virtutum fratris imago,  
 cui iam fama suo tempore compar erit.  
 Aemulus ac laudum est Octavius ipse tuarum,  
 post te fraterno more secundus et est.
- 5   Hoc probat ingenium, virtus, sapientia, mores,  
      officium, pietas eloquiumque suum.  
 Pacem amat atque domi tranquillam ducere vitam,  
      instituit Phoebi castra secunda sequi.

An illustration, as it were, of the special competence of the two brothers alluded to by Campano, Cerasi and Giovanni Mario Filelfo (and many other poets) is a small relief by Francesco di Giorgio for one of the windows of the palace in Urbino. It shows Federico and Ottaviano, facing each other at eye level, with their respective attributes: to the right, Federico in left profile, as usual, bareheaded, in a cuirass, a small shield leaning against his left shoulder, and to his right two military emblems: a helmet and a standard; to the left, Ottaviano in right profile, bareheaded too, clothed in a simple tunic, and to his left two books, one closed and leaning against the other one that is open, and an olive branch, the symbols of a learned and peaceful life.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> The elegy was published by Adolfo Cinquini, 'Spigolature da codici manoscritti del XV secolo: Il codice Vaticano-Urbinate latino 1193. Appendici alla tavola del Codice', *Classici e Neolatini*, 3 (1907), 197-212 (pp. 205-206); excerpts in Giovanni Zannoni, 'Porcellio Pandoni ed i Montefeltro', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. V, 4 (1895), 104-122, 489-507 (pp. 495-496 n. 1), and Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 106-107 with n. 43.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 116-117 with tav. III; illustration also in Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 173, pl. VIII; Roeck – Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens*, p. 193 and below fig. 2 on p. 56.

This *concordia fratrum* is programmatically manifest in many other documents both in literature and fine art: I only mention the *Lamentation over Christ*, also by Francesco di Giorgio, of about 1474/5 (originally in the Oratory of Santa Croce in Urbino, now in Santa Maria del Carmine in Venice), where, on the right hand, behind St. John, Federico can be seen kneeling among the group of mourners; in front of him we see little Guidobaldo, and behind Federico a male person of approximately the same age which can be no one else but Ottaviano.<sup>110</sup>

Another example is a painting of about 1480, now attributed to Pedro Berruguete rather than to Justus of Ghent (originally in the *studiolo* of Gubbio<sup>111</sup>, since 1853 in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen of England, since 1955 in Hampton Court Castle). It shows an audience in an open gallery listening to the oration of an elderly bearded scholar clothed in black, who stands behind a lectern.<sup>112</sup> The identity of the scholar is disputed: some<sup>113</sup> see in him the famous humanist and historian Antonio Bonfini, who delivered his *Oratio pro Leonardo Angelo* in Gubbio in the winter of 1477/8 in the presence of Federico<sup>114</sup>, others iden-

<sup>110</sup> Illustration in de La Sizeranne, *Federico di Montefeltro*, pp. 269 and 270 (detail of 'Duca Federico e un suo consigliere'); Cecil H. Clough, 'Federico da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts, 1468-1482', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1973), 129-144 (pl. b), reprinted in Id., *The Duchy of Urbino in the Renaissance*, no. VIII; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 174, pl. IX.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 27-35; Clough, 'Art as Power', 22 with fig. 3; M. Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's *Studiolo* in Gubbio Reconsidered. Its Decoration and Its Iconographic Program: An Interpretation', *Artibus et Historiae*, 21 (1990), 199-214 (pp. 199-204, 208-210).

<sup>112</sup> Illustration in de La Sizeranne, *Federico di Montefeltro*, p. 222; Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's *Studiolo* in Gubbio Reconsidered', 209; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 208, pl. 37; Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts' (unnumbered plate after p. 144); Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, fig. 83; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino: Paolo Uccello, Joos Van Ghent, Piero della Francesca', *Art Bulletin*, 49 (1967), 1-24 (fig. 26); Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (Cambridge, 1985), pl. 40-41 and below fig. 4 on p. 58. The painting is in a rather poor condition, not least as a consequence of its cleaning and restoration after its rediscovering in 1845: see Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures*, pp. 60-62.

<sup>113</sup> Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 23; Cecil H. Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Private Study in His Ducal Palace of Gubbio', *Apollo*, 86 (1967), 278-287 (pp. 284-285); Id., 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 137; Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 29-30, 32; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 346-347, 370 (hesitating).

<sup>114</sup> The text of the oration is preserved in a later copy in Urb. Lat. 526 (s. XVI ex., chart.), ff. 30-54. On the reason for Bonfini's oration and the person of Leonardo Angelo see Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 137, on Bonfini himself,

tify him with various other humanists.<sup>115</sup> His audience consists of Federico himself as the central figure, seated in the first row on a throne-like chair, wearing the vestments of the Order of the Garter, which he received in 1474, and holding a book in his hands; his son Guidobaldo at the age of about eight or nine years, dressed in cloth of gold, is standing next to him; behind them three other distinguished persons, obviously members of the Urbino court, are sitting on a bench: in the middle we can easily recognize again Ottaviano, to his left a young man, in front of whom a lectern is placed, perhaps Federico's illegitimate son Antonio, who devoted himself to literature and scholarship and was, together with his father's second wife, Battista Sforza, and her brother Costanzo, educated by Martino Filetico;<sup>116</sup> the other person in the far corner could be the just-mentioned Costanzo Sforza<sup>117</sup>, whereas the first person in the doorway

G. Rill, 'Bonfini, Antonio', in *DBI*, 12 (1970), 28-30; Aulo Greco, 'Ritratto di Antonio Bonfini', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 7 (1987), 153-158.

<sup>115</sup> Ludovico Odasio: J. Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino illustrating the Arms, Arts and Literature of Italy, 1440-1630* (London, 1851), I, 276. Vittorino da Feltre: A. Crowe-G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy* (London, 1871), I, 441. Lazzaro Raccanelli, since 1478 Bishop of Urbino: A. Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì* (Berlin-Stuttgart, 1886), pp. 102-105. Paul of Middelburg: Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì*, pp. 102-105 (alternatively to Raccanelli); A. de Ceuleneer, 'Juste de Gand (Joos Van Wassenhove)', *Les arts anciens de Flandre*, 5 (1911), 58-109 (pp. 97-99); de La Size-ranne, *Federico di Montefeltro*, pp. 222-223 ('[...] un professore triste e barbuto simile a un rabbino. È, si dice, un prete zelandese, Paolo di Middelburgo'), and others. Session of the Accademia degli Assorditi: Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, I, 276 (alternatively). A lettered guest reading his compositions at the court of Urbino: *ibid.* (third possibility). The Duke being invested with the Order of the Garter: *Catalogue of the First and Most Important Portion of the [...] Collection [...] Formed by Samuel Woodburn, Esq.*, Christie's, 24-25 June 1853, no. 138. Others thought that the *Oration* did not render a particular historical event but rather a timeless scene, and 'referred in general to the humanist atmosphere of the Urbino court': Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Studiolo in Gubbio Reconsidered', 200 with n. 24 on p. 211, quoting Campbell, *Early Flemish Pictures*, p. 61 and pp. 63-64. Therefore, Fabiański, who states that 'his [sc. the speaker's] face has been repainted' (p. 201), comes to the conclusion: 'As certain as we may be that the subject matter was connected with the humanist pursuit of the Liberal Arts, the identity of the speaker and the contents of his oration cannot be discovered unless new sources are found' (p. 200); similarly Campbell, *Early Flemish Pictures*, p. 64. On the various attempts of identifying the speaker see Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 23; Campbell, *Early Flemish Pictures*, pp. 62-64, and Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Studiolo in Gubbio Reconsidered', 211 n. 21.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Cecil H. Clough, 'Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino', *Manuscripta*, 8 (1964), 160-171 (pp. 163-164), reprinted in Id. *The Duchy of Urbino*, no. VII; Bonvini Mazzanti, *Battista Sforza Montefeltro*, pp. 49-51, 124, 128-129; Martino Filetico, *Iocundissimae Disputationes*, introduzione, traduzione e testo critico di Guido Arbizzoni (Modena, 1992), pp. 32-33 (see below pp. 46-47 with n. 188-190).

<sup>117</sup> The same identification is proposed by Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 23. Ceuleneer, 'Juste de Gand', 98 identified them (from back to front)

might be identified as Ludovico Odasio, a humanist from Padua whom Federico had chosen to become tutor of Guidobaldo.<sup>118</sup> The painting combines the leading figures at court — the Duke himself, his brother and co-ruler, the successor to the throne and his tutor, and another legitimated son of the Duke and his cousin — and is a clear demonstration of the literary culture and intellectual atmosphere at the court:<sup>119</sup> together with the portraits of the Seven Liberal Arts that were in the *studiolo* of Gubbio<sup>120</sup>, the *Oration* displayed the sphere of *sapientia* and *scientia* in the life of Federico and his court. Federico himself posed in the *Oration* as a representative of the *vita contemplativa*, which, because of his administrative and military duties of the *vita activa*, he had to leave to his brother Ottaviano to a much greater extent than he himself should have liked.

A third example of the way in which poets saw and praised the relation of the two brothers can be found in the epic poem *Martias*, written in 1464 and dedicated to Federico by Giovanni Mario Filelfo, the son of

as Ludovico Odasio, Ottaviano and Ottaviano's son Bernardino who, however, died of the plague already in 1458 so that his presence in this group is excluded. For other proposals see Campbell, *Early Flemish Pictures*, p. 63.

<sup>118</sup> Campbell, *Early Flemish Pictures*, p. 63, however, states: 'The figures in the doorway are similarly too damaged to be identified.' - On Ludovico Odasio (in Latin Odasius or Odaxius, 1455-1509) see A. Pinetti - E.E. Odazio, 'L'umanista Lodovico Odasio alla corte dei Duchi d'Urbino', *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. III, 23 (1896), 355-380, with corrections by Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto*, Studi e Testi, 44 (Roma, 1925), in the Index s.v. 'Odazio, Lodovico'; Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 133-134; Mario E. Cosenza, *A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of Italian Humanists, 1300-1800*, 6 vols (Boston, 1962-1967<sup>2</sup>), III (1964), 2498-2499. See also below pp. 47-48 with n. 192-193.

<sup>119</sup> A similar representation of the same leading persons at the court of Urbino can be seen on the painting 'Communion of the Apostles' (1473/4) by Justus of Ghent where, on the far right side, immediately behind Federico, three other men appear in courtly clothes and with red bonnets on their heads. Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 22, identifies them as Ottaviano Ubaldini, Costanzo Sforza, and Antonio Ubaldini, basing this identification on a passage in the poem, *De vita et morte illustris D. Baptistae Sfortiae*, by Ser Gaugello de la Pergola. Contrary to her identification of Ottaviano as the man who counts on his fingers, I rather should see the third man in the background as Ottaviano and the two younger ones behind Federico as Costanzo Sforza and Antonio, Federico's illegitimate son. Illustration in de La Sizeranne, *Federico di Montefeltro*, pp. 183 and 218 (detail of the group with Federico and the three courtiers); Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', fig. 1 opposite p. 1; Lauts - Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 173, pl. VII; in most of these illustrations, however, the extreme right margin is slightly cut off so that the third person of the three standing behind Federico cannot be seen.

<sup>120</sup> See Chelses, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 28-32.

Francesco, while he was still in Modena.<sup>121</sup> The *Martias* is a myth-historical synthesis in praise of Federico, whose divine parents are Mars and Minerva. He shall bear the name Fiderycus and shall be greater and more famous than Hercules, the greatest hero of Antiquity, and after his death find his place among the stars. This is all prophesied in a long speech by Jupiter, who also announces the birth of a brother by mortal parents who, in contrast to the warlord Fiderycus, will devote himself to the works of peace and to science and the arts (1, 572-583):

Post hunc nascetur, velut Hercule Iphiclea nato  
 Alcmene peperit, puer inclytus, utque Minervae  
 ambo deae sapiant mores et munera sacra,  
 575 ut dux ille ferox Erycis de nomine dictus  
 et fidei eximiae, Fiderycus doctior omni  
 milite Martis erit suboles praeclara triumphis,  
 sic puer hic, quoniam pacis tutabitur ortum,  
 interitum exosus, donando vincet honestis  
 580 quemlibet ingeniis studiorum cultor eorum,  
 quae quondam Augustus mira est virtute sequutus,  
 Octavianus erit nomenque a Caesare magno  
 ducet honoratum fietque verendus Olympo.

After him another famous youth will be born, just as Alcmene, after the birth of Hercules, has born Iphicles: and even if both of them may possess the manners and holy gifts of Minerva, nevertheless, in the same way in which that keen duke, who is named after Eryx and his outstanding faith, Fiderycus, more skilled than any other soldier, will prove himself through his triumphs to be the glorious offspring of Mars — in that same way this other youth will protect the rise of peace and detest its destruction, he will, because of his noble character, surpass everybody else through his generosity as patron of those studies for which once Augustus has striven with admirable zeal: therefore, he will be Octavian (i.e. Ottaviano) and take his honourable name from that of the great Caesar and will be respected by the gods.

<sup>121</sup> The dedication copy is Urb. Lat. 702, dated *Mutinae 16<sup>o</sup> Kal. Aprilis 1464*. On the elegiac preface with the dedication to Federico see Heinz Hofmann - Ruth Monreal, 'L'elegia dedicatoria alla *Martias* di Giovanni Mario Filelfo', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 21 (2001), 123-135. For a brief assessment of the poem see Giovanni Zannoni, 'I due libri della *Martias* di Giovan Mario Filelfo', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. V, 3 (1894), 557-572, 650-671; Heinz Hofmann, 'Die *Martias* des Giovanni Mario Filelfo', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (2005), 131-149.

I have discussed the implications of this passage elsewhere<sup>122</sup> and can therefore be brief: In the first place, Filelfo has moved the problem of Federico's birth and parents from historical reality to the sphere of mythical genealogy and thus placed his hero no longer among mortals but among divine beings. In the second place, the analogy to Hercules and Iphicles allows him to give Hercules-Fiderycus a brother Iphicles-Octavianus and to assign to them two different fields of activity: Fiderycus is the son of Mars and hero of wars, Octavian is the prince of peace and patron of arts and, in this respect, a second Augustus Caesar. It is interesting that as early as 1464 this distribution of tasks was obvious even to persons living outside the Montefeltro: this was the year in which, according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, Federico decided to expand the library systematically, which until then had held less than a hundred codices, and to entrust this task to his brother Ottaviano. Ottaviano carried out his brother's wishes and enlarged the library to such an extent that 18 years later, when Federico died, the number of manuscripts had surpassed 900, of which about 600 were in Latin, 170 in Greek, 80 in Hebrew, 70 in *volgare* and a few in Arabic and Coptic.<sup>123</sup>

Ottaviano was responsible for the building of the palace and its artistic decoration and knew how to attract famous artists from all over Italy such as Pisanello, whom he had met for the first time either in Milan or in Pavia in 1441<sup>124</sup>, Piero della Francesca, who often visited Urbino, especially in the decennium 1455-1465<sup>125</sup>, Justus of Ghent<sup>126</sup>, and Pedro

<sup>122</sup> Hofmann, 'Die *Martias* des Giovanni Mario Filelfo', 135-141.

<sup>123</sup> Bisticci, *Vite*, I, 386-387; cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 27; see also above pp. 8-9 and 23 with n. 13-16 and 92. In those years after 1460 Federico also planned the new wing of his palace which was to house a new and large library for his new acquisitions; it was, however, not completed before 1474, and the first testimony of a visit of the new library dates from 1480: see P. Rotondi, *Il palazzo ducale di Urbino*, 2 vols (Urbino, 1950-1951), I (1950), 441 n. 157.

<sup>124</sup> Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 310-311; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 356.

<sup>125</sup> Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 326; Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 19-22; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 351-361, 371-382. On his 'Flagellation of Christ' see *ibid.*, pp. 379-381; Roeck – Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens*, pp. 67-72, and recently Roeck, *Mörder*, *passim*.

<sup>126</sup> He came to Urbino in 1472, when he first painted the 'Communion of the Apostles' for the Confraternity of Corpus Domini; later he cooperated with Pedro Berruguete in the paintings of the *Uomini illustri* for the *studiolo* in Urbino: see Aronberg Lavin, 'The Altar of Corpus Domini in Urbino', 1-2, 10-11; Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 335; Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 48-50 and *passim*; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 315-317, 335-336, 375-378.

Berruguete.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Ottaviano himself was a collector of art and owned among others a famous painting by Jan van Eyck, 'Women's Bath', which is now lost but was described in some detail by Bartolomeo Fazio.<sup>128</sup> For the production of the manuscripts, he mainly relied on Vespasiano da Bisticci and his Florentine scriptorium<sup>129</sup> but he also commissioned them from other ateliers in Padua and Ferrara; among the scribes whose names occur regularly in the subscriptions to the codices are Matteo de' Contugi of Volterra<sup>130</sup>, the Frenchman Ugo de Comminellis of Mézières on the Meuse who copied among others the famous Bible (Urb. Lat. 1-2) and Urb. Lat. 333 (Petrarch, *Opera varia*)<sup>131</sup>, a Gundisalvus Hispanus<sup>132</sup> and two or three persons of Flemish or Dutch

<sup>127</sup> He is usually identified with the 'Pietro Spagnuolo depintore' (or 'pittore') who occurs in a document of Urbino of 1477: cf. Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 335-336; see also Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, p. 48 n.2. This identification is rejected by Cecil H. Clough, 'Pedro Berruguete and the Court of Urbino: A Case of Wishful Thinking', *Notizie da Palazzo Albani*, 3/1 (Urbino, 1974), 17-24 (reprinted in revised form in Id., *The Duchy of Urbino*, no. X), who holds that this 'Pietro Spagnuolo [...] was a mere "painter" of woodwork and marble, rather than an artist' and belonged to a 'Spagnuolo family [that] existed in Urbino in the fifteenth century' and 'three of [whose] members were closely connected with the Urbino court between 1488 and 1492' (p. 4).

<sup>128</sup> Bartholomaeus Facius, *De viris illustribus* (1456), in the chapter on famous painters. According to Roeck, *Mörder*, p. 219 n. 30, it was a 'Susanna in the Bath' by Rogier van der Weyden. See P. Viti, 'Facio, Bartolomeo', in *DBI*, 44 (1994), 113-121; G. Marchiori, *Bartolomeo Facio fra letteratura e vita* (Milano, 1971); Aulo Greco, 'Forme di letteratura e di vita nel *De viris illustribus* di B. Facio', in Id., *La memoria delle lettere*, L'Ippogrifo, 35 (Roma, 1985), pp. 26-43.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Albinia C. de la Mare, 'Vespasiano da Bisticci e i copisti fiorentini di Federico', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, III: *La cultura*, 81-96; Ead., 'Vespasiano da Bisticci as Producer of Classical Manuscripts in Fifteenth-Century Florence', in *Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use*, ed. by C.A. Chavannes-Mazel – M.M. Smith (Los Altos Hills - London, 1996), pp. 166-220; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 62-64.

<sup>130</sup> Attested for Urb. Lat. 10 (*Quattuor Evangelia*), 324 (G.A. Campano, *Orationes*, and some minor texts, written in 1458), 336 (Libanius, *Letters*, translated by Francisco Zambicario, and *Apology*, translated by Leonello Chierigato), 365 (Dante, *Commedia*, with 110 illustrations, see Michelini Tocci, *Il Dante Urbinate*; illustrations also in Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 181, pl. XIX, and pp. 296-298), 392 (miscellany of historical writings by Isidore of Seville, Saint Jerome and Ps.-Saint Jerome, *Livy Periochae*, Giovanni Andrea, *De laudibus Victorini Feltrensis*, Benvenuto da Imola, *Liber Augustalis*), 427 (Curtius Rufus), and 548 (*Salomonis libri* in the Vulgata version; cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 112 n. 61).

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 63-64, n. 11. He is also testified for Urb. Lat. 277 (Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, written in 1472, see above p. 16-17 with n. 64), 334 (Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*) and perhaps 332 (Petrarch, *Rerum memorandarum libri IV*, *De sui ipsius et multorum ignorantia*, *Epistulae sine nomine*, *Itinerarium Syriacum*).

<sup>132</sup> He wrote Urb. Lat. 280 (Strabo, *Geography*), 491 (Poggio Bracciolini, *Historia Florentina*), and perhaps 263 (Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*); see above p. 16 with n. 58 and 63 and p. 18 with n. 70.

origin: a certain Nievkerke added his name at the end of Urb. Lat. 132, containing the third part of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, and probably copied the other parts (Urb. Lat. 129-132) and Urb. Lat. 128 with the commentary of Thomas Aquinas on book IV of the *Sententiae* of Petrus Lombardus as well; a Petrus de Traiecto ex monte Massa, i.e., of Utrecht (Traiectum ad Rhenum) or Maastricht (Traiectum ad Mosam), who worked in the atelier of Vespasiano da Bisticci, is named as copyist of seven manuscripts<sup>133</sup>, and a Theodoricus Goch *alemannus* (which at that time can also designate the Low Countries) wrote at least four manuscripts.<sup>134</sup> The main copyist and librarian was, however, Federico Veterani, who is also the author of a number of Latin poems and to whose hand almost forty manuscripts of the Urbino collection can be ascribed.<sup>135</sup> He was in the service first of Federico and Ottaviano, later of Guidobaldo; the exact dates of his life are not known, but he was born in Urbino ca. 1440/45 and was still alive in 1526. Between 1472 and 1482, he compiled and wrote among others Urb. Lat. 1193, a miscellany containing, in its first part, the orations by Giovanni Antonio Campano and Pandolfo Colenuccio and poems by various authors on the occasion of the death of Battista Sforza (7 July 1472), Federico's second wife, and a collection of poems dedicated and sent to Federico by a number of various authors.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Urb. Lat. 30 (Origenes, *Opera varia*, written in 1473), 80 (St. Augustine, *Epistulae*, written in 1472), 196 (Bessarion, *Utrum natura et ars consilio agant et Adversus calumniatores Platonis*, written in 1472), 305 (Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae*, written in 1471), 383 (Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, written in 1472), 386 (Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, not dated), and 488 (Origenes, *Peri archon*, written in 1473); see above p. 20 n. 81.

<sup>134</sup> Urb. Lat. 56 (Saint Jerome, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*), 137 (Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Book I of the Sententiae*, written in 1473), 138 (Id., *On Book II*, written in 1474), 189 (Albertus Magnus, *De animalibus*), probably also 139 (Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on Book III of the Sententiae*) and 140 (Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones quodlibetales* and other treatises).

<sup>135</sup> On Veterani see Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci*, pp. xxiv-xxviii; Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario', 267-268, who calls him 'il buon Veterani, non uomo di cultura certo, ma diligente e fedele esecutore dei suoi ordini' (p. 254 n. 2); Moranti, 'Organizzazione della biblioteca', 42 n. 87; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 302-305; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, passim (see index s.v. 'Veterani Federico'). See also the entry in Cosenza, *A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary*, IV (1962), 3656.

<sup>136</sup> Detailed analysis of its contents in Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, III, 198-203. Cf. also Adolfo Cinquini, *Il codice Vaticano-Urbinate Latino 1193. Documenti ed appunti per la storia letteraria nel Quattrocento*, 2 vols (Aosta, 1905-1909); Id., 'Spigolature da codici manoscritti del XV secolo'. According to Bonvini Mazzanti, *Battista Sforza Montefeltro*, p. 11 n. 14, Veterani wrote f. 1-169<sup>r</sup> of this codex between 17 August 1472, when Campano delivered his *Funebris oratio pro Baptista Sfortia*, (see Di Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista*, pp. 318-321), and 23 August 1474 when Federico received the title of Duke.



On f. 3<sup>r</sup> there are three poems by Veterani on Federico — admittedly, not very elegant ones — written within 35 years of Federico's death which reveal Veterani's deep personal relation with Federico.

On the upper half of f. 3<sup>r</sup> Veterani copied a sepulchral epigram of six elegiac distichs in the tradition of ancient epitaphs in which the dead person — here Federicus himself — apostrophizes the chance wayfarer, as it were, from his grave:<sup>137</sup>

- <D>ux Federicus eram Monfeltrius. Extat ymago  
haec mea vera quidem. Sum modo cum superis.  
Integer ipse fui vivens animoque fideque,  
integer et membris sum modo, qualis eram.
- 5 Si cupis integrum totum me visere, quaeso,  
ad Bernardini templa viator eas.  
Nam qui post septem lustris me vidit, in archa  
Credidit ille uno me iacuisse die.
- Incorrupta fides membra incorrupta meretur
- 10 Servasse: Hoc pietas relligioque facit.  
Vos igitur, summo qui me coluistis amore,  
Dicite cum lachrimis: Dux Federice, vale.

The epigram shares only a few topoi with the traditional sepulchral epigrams of Greek and Roman literature in which the dead person describes his fate and narrates the vicissitudes of his life and the circumstances of his death and, if still unburied, asks for burial.<sup>138</sup> Its main purpose is to stress the fact that even after 35 years ('post septem lustris', v. 7) Federico's corpse is still as well preserved ('integer') in his coffin as if he had been buried only the day before (v. 7-8): Veterani stresses this point by twice comparing the integrity of Federico's character with the integrity of his corpse (v. 3-4, 9-10). Those who doubt this are invited to come to the church of S. Bernardino ('ad Bernardini templa', v. 6) just outside Urbino, and see him in his bodily integrity.

<sup>137</sup> Edition of the three poems on f. 3<sup>r</sup> of Urb. Lat. 1193 by Adolfo Cinquini, 'Spigliature da codici manoscritti del secolo XV. Il codice Vaticano-Urbinate Latino 1193', *Classici e Neolatini*, 1 (1905), 110-124 (pp. 117-118), who printed the third one erroneously as elegiacs as well. In my rendering I have partly changed spelling and punctuation.

<sup>138</sup> Examples of this type can be found in Book VII of the *Greek Anthology*; in Latin, the most obvious cases are Prop., 1, 21 and Hor., *carm.*, 1, 28: cf. Sesto Properzio, *Il primo libro delle elegie*. Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Paolo Fedeli (Firenze, 1980), pp. 485-488; R.G.M. Nisbet – Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 317-320; Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 172-185; Francis Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 90-91.

With this poem Veterani alludes to the exhumation of Federico's corpse, ordered by Duke Francesco Maria I della Rovere in 1517, at which he himself was present and witnessed that the embalmed corpse in his coffin was still in good shape and showed no signs of decay.<sup>139</sup>

In the middle of the lower half of f. 3<sup>r</sup> is a coloured portrait of Federico in the usual perspective in left profile, set in a kind of frame and covered by what seems to be a military tent whose tarpaulin is drawn back by two winged genii like a curtain. To the left and the right there are two more short poems by Veterani himself. The first one to the left of Federico's portrait, described by Sornajolo<sup>140</sup> as 'De corpore Friderici in arca sepulchrali', is, as it were, Veterani's answer to the first epigram and confirms the autopsy of the corpse of Federico<sup>140bis</sup>:

Hunc ego iamdudum fateor Veteranus adisse  
et meruisse manum stringere saepe suam  
atque omni ex parte vidi hoc flexibile corpus  
Nec nimius toto corpore pallor erat.

5 Hunc igitur superi si servant, denique fas est  
nunc et in aurato marmore herere ducem.

In the third poem to the right of Federico's portrait Veterani refers to the other two poems and the illustration and gives a kind of justification for the fact that Federico is portrayed in a military tent.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 164 and 245; Roeck-Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens*, pp. 225-226. In the church of the monastery of San Bernardo degli Zoccolanti, built by Bramante about 2 km outside Urbino, surrounded by trees and hills, are buried Federico, his son Guidobaldo and Guidobaldo's wife Elisabetta Gonzaga. The baroque epitaphs on both sides were erected in 1620. On Federico's burial see the report of Bernardino Baldi (1603) in his *Vita e Fatti di Federigo di Montefeltro, duca d'Urbino*, [...] Estratto da MS. inedito della Biblioteca Albani e corredata di Osservazioni del Sig. Avv. Francesco Zuccardi, III (Roma, 1824), 270-271, with Zuccardi's additions on pp. 288-290. Whereas Baldi confirms the appearance of Federico's corpse as it was described by Veterani, Zuccardi reports that when the graves and coffins had been opened in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were only dust and bones and no traces of garments, weapons or jewellery.

<sup>140</sup> Sornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, III, p. 198. Illustration in Martino Filetico, *Iocundissimae Disputationes*, a cura di Guido Arbizzoni, p. 6 and below fig. 3 on p. 57.

<sup>140bis</sup> Note the *productio in arsi* in v. 3 ('parte') and especially the wrong scansion of 'flexibile' (v. 3) and 'herere' (v. 6).

<sup>141</sup> In v. 4 the nominative 'patiens' seems to be wrong because v. 3-5a (until 'intantum') form an acc. c. inf. governed by 'credat', but 'patientem' would not fit into this hexameter; Dirk Sacré suggests to correct the line in 'inter et ardenti patientem sole, labori'. For such inconcinnities or anacolutha in acc. c. inf. constructions see Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. Vierter Band: *Formenlehre, Syntax und Stilistik*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, II 5.4 (München, 1998), p. 251 (§4.6). The reflexive pronoun 'sibi' in v. 5 instead of 'ei' can be explained as the usual confusion of

- Quem noviter pinxi sociatum carmine, si quis  
queritat: 'Hunc cur nam subtus tentoria?', credat  
hunc quoque sub divo requiem sumpsisse, pruinas  
inter et ardenti patiens sub sole, labori  
5 intentum. Pulvinar erat sibi targa, ciboque  
Parcus, aqua et pomis nimium contentus: et istae  
Delitiae domini victoris saepe fuere.

Similar in tone and personal emotion is Veterani's entry on the death of Ottaviano in Urb. Lat. 460 (Poggio's translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) where, on the last folio (122<sup>r</sup>), he added the following note: '1498. xxvii Julij hora viiii<sup>a</sup> obiit Illustrissimus Dominus Octavianus Ubaldinus comes Mercatelli, etc., princeps etate sua omnium iustissimus ac pietissimus, die xiiii<sup>a</sup> post quam egrotaverat Eugubij et inde eger rediens sive translatus, ut ad Urbinum rediret, Callij migravit.'<sup>142</sup> And in Urb. Lat. 325, containing the *Epistolae* and some epigrams of Giovanni Antonio Campano, he added the following personal remark on the last page (f. 254): 'Divino Duci Federico: Post cuius obitum non equidem vixi, sed continuo merore consternatus mortem mihi cariorum cotidie flagitavi, quia in eo, quem amisi, mea vita constabat.'<sup>143</sup>

reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in Medieval Latin: see Stotz, *Handbuch*, Vierter Band: *Formenlehre, Syntax und Stilistik*, pp. 292-295 (p. 294, §38. 5-6). The noun 'targa' in v. 5 is not attested in classical or late antique Latin but found its way from Germanic languages, where it means 'a small shield', into Medieval Latin and Romance Languages: see Stotz, *Handbuch*, Erster Band: *Einleitung, Lexikologische Praxis, Wörter und Sachen, Lehnwortgut* (München, 2002), p. 399 (§28.8); cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. 'targa' and Lucio Felici (con la collaborazione di Alberto Riganti e.a.), *Il Grande Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana* (Milano, 1987), p. 1976 s.v. 'targa': 'scudo leggero in uso nel medio-evo, di forma ovale oppure rettangolare, con gli angoli arrotondati'.

<sup>142</sup> Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I, 468; Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 111 n. 58. Stornajolo reads 'rediens sive translatus', Michelini Tocci, 'rediens, cedens suis translatus'.

<sup>143</sup> Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I, 294. On similar expressions of Veterani's affection for the Dukes of Urbino in the manuscripts see Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Graeci*, pp. xxv-xxvii; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 74-76. He also composed the 14 hexameters that were inscribed on the walls of the library:

- Sint tibi divitiae, sint aurea vasa, talenta  
plurima, servorum turbae gemmaeque nitentes,  
sint vestes variae, preciosa monilia, torques:  
id totum haec longe superat praeclara supellex.  
5 Sint licet aurati niveo de marmore postes  
et variis placeant penetralia picta figuris,  
sint quoque troianis circumdata moenia pannis  
et miro fragrent viridaria culta decore,  
extra intusque domus regali fulgida luxu -

Ottaviano eventually opened a local atelier in Urbino in 1480. He even succeeded in getting copies of the library inventories of Oxford, Paris, Milan, Ferrara, Pavia, Venice, Naples, Rome and other big cities in Europe in order to find authors and works which were not yet present in the library of Urbino and to demonstrate to visitors that Urbino could compete with the most famous libraries in the world.<sup>144</sup> In 1475 he opened the first printing press in the Marche in Cagli under the direction of Lorenzo Abstemio, who in 1482 moved to Urbino, where he held the offices of *Praefectus Bibliothecae* and tutor of Guidobaldo and dedicated to Ottaviano in 1495 the first *Hecatomythium* of his fables.<sup>145</sup> At about the same time the printing press was transferred to Urbino.<sup>146</sup>

- 10 res equidem mutae. Sed Bibliotheca parata est  
iussa loqui, facunda nimis, vel iussa tacere  
et prodesse potens et delectare legentem.  
Tempora lapsa docet venturaque plurima pandit  
exipit et cunctos coeli terraeque labores,

and the three distichs above the entrance to the library which describe the classification and arrangement of the books:

- Si cupis, hic positi quonam sint ordine libri,  
Discere, qui transis, carmina pauca lege:  
Dextera Sacrorum Iurisque volumina servat,  
Philosophos, Physicos, nec Geometer abest.  
5 Quicquid Cosmographi, quicquid scripsere Poetae  
Historicique omnes, dat tibi leva manus.

Note the unusual scansion of 'Philosophos' and 'Geometer' in v. 4. Both poems are no longer extant in the library but were copied by travellers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario', 257 (only the distichs); Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 304-305 (both poems with German translation). A similar inscription in the *studiolo* in Gubbio was ascribed to Veterani by Hans Nachod, 'The Inscription in Federico da Montefeltro's Studio in the Metropolitan Museum: Distichs by his Librarian Federico Veterano', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 2 (1944), 98-105; cf. Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, p. 28 with n. 16.

<sup>144</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>145</sup> Printed in Venice in 1495, with a long dedicatory epistle full of praise for Ottaviano and memories of mutual friends. In the second edition (Venice, 1499), which was published after Ottaviano's death in 1498, this letter has been suppressed; cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 110 n. 57.

<sup>146</sup> On Abstemio see G. Castellani, 'Note tipografiche fanesi. Il primo libro stampato a Fano', *La Bibliofilia*, 28 (1926-27), 267-280; Id., 'Lorenzo Abstemio e la Tipografia del Soncino a Fano', *La Bibliofilia*, 31 (1929), 413-423, 441-460; 32 (1932), 113-130, 145-160; L. Bertalot, 'L'antologia di epigrammi di Lorenzo Abstemio nelle tre edizioni sonciniane', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Studi e Testi, 121-126, 6 vols (Città del Vaticano, 1946), IV, 305-326; reprinted in Id., *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, hg. von Paul Oskar Kristeller, 2. Band, Storia e Letteratura, 130 (Roma, 1975), 333-354; C. Mutini, 'Astemio, Lorenzo', in *DBI*, 4 (1962), 460-461; Gilbert Tournoy, 'Laurentius Abstemius', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 42 (1972), 189-210; Moranti,

In order to strengthen the relations between the court, the library and the humanist authors, and to make Urbino an important centre of humanistic studies, Ottaviano maintained close contacts to the intellectual élite of his day and invited poets and scholars to Urbino. To the circle of those eminent scholars, artists and men of letters belonged Guarino Veronese who, together with Cardinal Bessarion (since 1445 *Commendatario* of the Abbey of San Cristoforo in Castel Durante [present-day Urbania] in the territory of Federico's County and shortly afterwards, in 1456, in the same function for the Abbey of Santa Croce at Fonte Avellana) and Flavio Biondo, who stayed in Urbino in 1453<sup>147</sup>, Pier Candido Decembrio, who knew Ottaviano from the court of the Visconti in Milan and who was later active as *podestà* in Urbino in 1461<sup>148</sup>, Francesco and Giovanni Mario Filelfo — the father an old acquaintance of Ottaviano from Milan and a frequent guest in Urbino, author of one of the biographies of Federico<sup>149</sup>, the son, author of the *Martias* just mentioned above and of numerous other poems to members of Federico's household<sup>150</sup> —, Porcelio de' Pandoni, who stayed several times at the court and also composed a heroic poem on Federico<sup>151</sup>, Giovanni Pontano, who was a guest in

'Organizzazione della biblioteca', 41-44; Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 337-338 with n. 119; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 300; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 32-34, 112.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Clough, 'Cardinal Bessarion and Greek at the Court of Urbino'; Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 320; Id., 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 103, 106; L. Labowsky, 'Bessarione', in *DBI*, 9 (1967), 686-696 (p. 693); Concetta Bianca, 'L'Accademia di Bessarione tra Roma ed Urbino', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, III: *La cultura*, 61-79; revised reprint in Ead., *Da Bisanzio a Roma. Studi sul Cardinale Bessarione* (Roma, 1999), pp. 123-138; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 94. Guarino had met Federico for the first time in Urbino in September 1444: see G. Pistilli, 'Guarini, Guarino', in *DBI*, 60 (2003), 357-369 (p. 365).

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 320; Id., 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 101-102; Moranti, 'Organizzazione della biblioteca', 30; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 228, 241; P. Viti, 'Decembrio, Pier Candido', in *DBI*, 33 (1987), 488-498.

<sup>149</sup> His *Commentarii de vita et rebus gestis Friderici, Urbini ducis, libri III*, is preserved in Urb. Lat. 1022 (s. XV), together with Giovanni Antonio Campano's fragmentary biography of Federico da Montefeltro; see above p. 19 n. 72; cf. Greco, 'Francesco Filelfo e Federico di Montefeltro' (see above p. 25 n. 101); Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 101; Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 135-136.

<sup>150</sup> Collections of his poems are preserved in Urb. Lat. 728 (s. XV ex., together with poems by Battista Mantuano and Benedetto Morandi) and 804 (written in 1471, containing only *Rime* in Italian); moreover, several other miscellaneous mss. also contain some of his poems; see also below p. 48-49 with n. 197.

<sup>151</sup> See below pp. 44-45 with n. 173 and pp. 50-51 with nn. 203-207.

Urbino in 1477 and dedicated his commentary on the *Centiloquium* of Claudius Ptolemaeus to Federico (Urb. Lat. 1393)<sup>152</sup>, Niccolò Perotti, who had narrow contacts with Federico and the court and dedicated to him his Latin translation of the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis*<sup>153</sup> and his main work, the *Cornu Copiae* (Urb. Lat. 301)<sup>154</sup>, Giorgio Merula, who dedicated his commentary on Juvenal to Federico (Urb. Lat. 663)<sup>155</sup>, and many many others.

Another humanist who had good contacts with Federico and Ottaviano but probably never stayed in Urbino was Cristoforo Landino. The library of Urbino possessed his three books *De anima*, originally dedicated to Ercole d'Este (Urb. Lat. 1370, s. XV), his commentary on Horace (Urb. Lat. 357, s. XV ex.), a kind of school edition of Horace's poems with commentary and vocabulary, dedicated to Duke Guidobaldo<sup>156</sup>, and his three books of Latin poems entitled *Xandra* in a miscellaneous manuscript with poems by various authors, written by Federico Veterani (Urb. Lat. 368). To Federico himself he dedicated in 1472/3 his *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (Urb. Lat. 508)<sup>157</sup> and received a polite and warm letter of thanks from the Count for his 'opus [...] praestanti elegantia et omni doctrinarum genere abunde refertum', who assured him that 'Liber tuus

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 125; see also above p. 16 with n. 60.

<sup>153</sup> Though the dedication copy in the library of Urbino is lost, there are later copies in Vat. Lat. 6968 (s. XVI) and 6526 (s. XVI) and the *editio princeps* in *Laurentius Abstemius una cum Aristotelis Oeconomicorum libris a Leonardo Arretino latine redditus etc.*, Fani 1504; cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 139-141. Another translation of the same work by Ciriaco d'Ancona was dedicated to Federico by Niccolò Gerardini (Urb. Lat. 1435, written in 1482); cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 151-152 with illustration of f. 1<sup>r</sup> on tav. XXI. On Perotti's relations with Federico see Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti*, passim.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 143-147. On the dedication letter to Federico see Fabio Stok, 'Il proemio del *Cornu copiae*', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 21 (2001), 37-54, on the prominent role of Federico in the *Cornu Copiae* see Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Le lexigraphe et le prince: Federico d'Urbino dans le *Cornu Copiae* de Niccolò Perotti', in *Cultura e potere nel rinascimento: Atti del IX Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 21-24 luglio 1997)*, a cura di Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Firenze, 1999), pp. 87-99. After Perotti's death (1480) and that of Federico (1482), Ludovico Odasio, commissioned by Guidobaldo, had it printed in Venice in 1489 and added a preface to that edition; cf. Michellini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario', 270-273; Fabio Stok, *Studi sul Cornu Copiae di Niccolò Perotti* (Pisa, 2002), pp. 43-70, 71-93, and Id., 'Il proemio del *Cornu copiae*', 50-51.

<sup>155</sup> A second copy of this commentary is preserved in Urb. Lat. 348 (s. XV, ff. 4-99, written by Angelo of Cagli), together with an anonymous commentary on Horace's *Epistulae* and *Ars poetica* (ff. 100-127) and the commentary on Juvenal by Domizio Calderini, dedicated to Giuliano de' Medici (ff. 128-214); cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 127-130.

<sup>156</sup> The initial on f. 1<sup>r</sup> shows the portrait of Cristoforo Landino.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 105-110.

legitur a me quotidie et legetur libentissime fietque tanta lectitandi delectatio ex scriptis tuis, ut me facile sperem ad illorum gravitatem et altissimos sensus proximum usquequaque accedere posse'.<sup>158</sup> The first parchment folio<sup>159</sup> of this beautifully executed manuscript shows Federico at an open window in conversation with an unknown man: Federico, standing on the left, is rendered in an unusual way in profile to the right — a position he avoided in all other extant portraits because of the loss of his right eye during a tournament in 1450, but his missing right eye is here generously restored by the artist; he holds in his hands an open codex richly bound and fitted with silver buckles — obviously the book he has just received as a dedication copy from the author opposite him. Recent research has shown, however, that this person cannot be Cristoforo Landino: first, because his other known portrait, showing him in his later years, a fresco in the Tornabuoni Chapel in S. Maria Novella in Florence, is too different from the present one<sup>160</sup>, and secondly because this parchment folio was not originally part of the codex but in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was glued onto the fly-leaf of the back of the wooden cover opposite the first folio of the manuscript with the dedicatory preface to Federico. Nevertheless, even if this drawing does not represent Landino himself handing over his work to Federico, it shows a typical scene of Federico's communication with artists and writers and how he treated them with both respect and attention.

In addition to his preoccupation with poetry and philology, Ottaviano was, since his early years at the court of the Visconti in Milan<sup>161</sup>, a devoted student of both astronomy and astrology — which were, at that time, more or less the same thing —, and had particularly close ties with mathematicians and astrologers such as Johannes Müller of Königsberg (who latinized his name as 'Regiomontanus'), secretary to Cardinal Bessarion, who in 1465 contacted Ottaviano through Leon Battista Alberti

<sup>158</sup> Transmitted in Urb. Lat. 1198, a collection of letters by Federico da Montefeltro (s. XV, chart.), f. 78<sup>v</sup> (no. 87 in Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae Latini*, III, 214), ed. by Paolo Alatri, *Federico da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino - Lettere di stato e d'arte (1470-1480)* (Roma, 1948), pp. 102-103; reprinted in *Cristoforo Landino, Disputationes Camaldulenses*, a cura di Peter Lohe (Firenze, 1980), pp. IX-X.

<sup>159</sup> Illustrations in Clough, 'Art as Power', p. 20; Id., 'The Library of the Dukes of Urbino', fig. 3; de La Sizeranne, *Federico di Montefeltro*, pp. 85 and 214 and below fig. 5 on p. 59. Cf. Lohe, *Cristoforo Landino, Disputationes Camaldulenses*, pp. IX-XIII, XXX-XXXIII.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 299.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 100-102; Id., 'Federico da Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 301-319.

and his compatriot James of Spiers<sup>162</sup>, and Guglielmo Raimondo di Moncada, an expert in the study of the kabbala, who knew also Hebrew, Chaldaean and Arabic and assumed the name of Flavius Mitridates; he copied several astronomical treatises in Arabic with his facing Latin translation and two passages from the Koran in an elegant, richly decorated small manuscript (Urb. Lat. 1384).<sup>163</sup> One of the most important mathematical astronomers was the Dutchman Paul of Middelburg (1445-1533), who came to Urbino in 1481; he was, together with James of Spiers, one of the teachers of Federico's son Guidobaldo, perhaps also his physician, and became in 1494 Bishop of Fossombrone; he spent his last years in Rome and wrote a large and learned book on the correct date of Easter and made an attempt to reform the Julian Calendar.<sup>164</sup> The writings of these and other astronomers and astrologers occupied an eminent place in the library:<sup>165</sup> there are some 50 astronomical and astrological manuscripts among the *Codices Urbinales*, eight of which are personally dedicated to Federico; to the same group belong four with prognostics for the next year by James of Spiers and Paul of Middelburg<sup>166</sup>, but also the astronomical poem *De gentilium deorum imaginibus* by Lodovico Lazzarelli (1450-1500), who was born in Sanseverino in the Marche and is known mainly through his hermetic writings<sup>167</sup>, preserved in a beautifully illu-

<sup>162</sup> On the correspondence of Regiomontanus with James of Spiers and others see Michellini Tocci, 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 321-324. See also Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 93; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 227-233, 305-306.

<sup>163</sup> Illustration of f. 1' in Peruzzi, *Cultura*, tav. XX. Cf. Jozef IJsewijn, 'Flavius Guilelmus Raymundus Mithridates', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (1977), 236-238; Michellini Tocci, 'Federico da Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 336-337; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 141-143; see also above p. 8 with n. 14.

<sup>164</sup> See Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 132-133, and below p. 47 with n. 191; see D.J. Struik, 'Paulus van Middelburg (1445-1533)', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 5 (1925), 79-118 (with an *elenchus* of his works).

<sup>165</sup> Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 40-41, 93; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 227-233.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 162-163, no. 56, 79, 81, 84, 87: the *Prognostica* themselves are lost except the prefaces, which have been preserved in print but are no longer existent in the collection of the *Codices Urbinales*; see also above p. 16 with n. 62.

<sup>167</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli. Contributo alla diffusione delle idee ermetiche nel rinascimento', in Id., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Storia e Letteratura, 54 (Rome, 1956, 1969<sup>2</sup>), 221-247 (pp. 224-232, 236-240). On Lazzarelli's didactic poems see Georg Roellenbleck, *Das epische Lehrgedicht Italiens im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Humanismus und der Renaissance*, Münchner Romanistische Arbeiten, 43 (München, 1975), pp. 62-64; Id., 'Lodovico Lazzarelli, Opusculum de Bombyce', in *Literatur und Spiritualität. Hans Sckommodau zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Hans Rheinfelder, Pierre Christophorov, Eberhard Müller-Bochat, Münchner Romanistische Arbeiten, 47 (München, 1978), pp. 213-231 (p. 216 n. 14).



minated manuscript with the seven Planets, Apollo and the nine Muses and other Olympic Gods and allegorical figures such as Poiesis and Victoria (Urb. Lat. 716, s. XV).<sup>168</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that astronomical instruments such as the astrolab, the armillary sphere, abacus tables and quadrants are depicted in the intarsia of the *studiolo* both in Urbino and Gubbio<sup>169</sup>, and that Astronomy is one of the Seven Liberal Arts painted either by Justus of Ghent or by Pedro Berruguete for Federico's *studiolo* in Gubbio.<sup>170</sup>

Owing to his important position next to Federico, Ottaviano himself received a considerable number of works dedicated to him by writers and scholars alike.<sup>171</sup> To this group belong Pier Candido Decembrio's translation of Plato's *Lysis*<sup>172</sup>, Porcelio de' Pandoni's *De felicitate temporum*

<sup>168</sup> The manuscript was originally intended for another Prince, presumably King Ferdinand (Ferrante) of Aragon (1458-1494) whose name and stemma were later erased and replaced by those of Federico. To the same king Lazzarelli had also dedicated his hermetic treatise *Crater Hermetis*. At the end of Urb. Lat. 716 (f. 55v-56) an *Elegia de Friderici urbinatis morbo ac sanatione* has been added. Identical with this codex — except the *Elegia* — is Urb. Lat. 717 (s. XV); according to Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae Latini*, II, 262, Urb. Lat. 717 had at a certain time been removed from the library and been replaced by Urb. Lat. 716.

<sup>169</sup> Illustrations in Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, figg. 62-63, 93.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 228, 321, 341-347; Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's *Studiolo* in Gubbio Reconsidered', 200-201, 206-207 with photographs of the two paintings still preserved in the National Gallery in London ('Rhetoric' [?] and 'Music'), and the two in the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin that were destroyed in World War II ('Dialectic' [?] and 'Astronomy'). Further illustrations in Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 206-207, pl. 35 ('Rhetoric') and 36 ('Music'); Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, fig. 79-82; Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', plate opposite p. 144 in the reprint in *The Duchy of Urbino* ('Rhetoric' [?] - rather 'Dialectic'). Of the four men each adoring one of the four Arts (as female allegories) only Federico, kneeling before 'Dialectic', can be identified with certainty. It is disputed whether the three other men are historical persons of the court or generalized types: the latter is proposed by Fabiański, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's *Studiolo* in Gubbio Reconsidered', 201, whereas stressing the historical context, I believe that the man before 'Astronomy' is Ottaviano Ubaldini and the two young men on the paintings in the National Gallery are Antonio da Montefeltro, Federico's illegitimate son, and Costanzo Sforza, Battista Sforza's brother, who was taught, together with Battista and Antonio, by Martino Filetico in the 1460s (see above pp. 30-31 with n. 116-120). Cf. Fabiański, p. 211 n. 31-33 and Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 28-32. On the importance of astronomy and astrology for the court of Urbino, see Patrizia Castelli, 'Gli Astri e i Montefeltro', *Res Publica Litterarum*, 6 (1983), 75-89; Ead., 'Matematici e astrologi tedeschi alla "corte" dei Montefeltro', in *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, hg. von Wolfram Prinz und Andreas Beyer (Weinheim, 1987), pp. 237-251.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 109-115; Id., 'Federico di Montefeltro e Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda', 332 n. 105; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, p. 88 n. 41.

<sup>172</sup> Now in Ferrara, Bibl. Ariosteia II. 66.

*Pii II*<sup>173</sup>, a collection of *Epistulae* by Piattino Piatti<sup>174</sup>, a collection of Aesopian *Fabellae* by Fra Cristoforo of Fano<sup>175</sup>, two works on the military expeditions of his brother Federico<sup>176</sup>, the *Tractatus contra pestem* by Ludovico Gasperi de Nesutiis of Fossombrone<sup>177</sup> and the *Rudimenta grammatices* by Francesco Venturini.<sup>178</sup>

In addition, Ottaviano is also addressed by many artists and writers in letters, speeches and poems and often remunerated them for their writings or procured them a temporary position at court, for instance for Lilio Tifernate (1472-1476), translator of Philo of Alexandria and Xenophon<sup>179</sup>, Piattino Piatti (1474-1476), who next to his *Epistulae* dedicated also a collection of his poems to Federico<sup>180</sup>, Angelo Lapi, who lived in Urbino in the forties of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but stayed in touch with Ottaviano until 1475/6<sup>181</sup> (he is the author of the laudatory poem for Federico from which I quoted the verses on the library<sup>182</sup>), Francesco Filelfo<sup>183</sup> and his son

<sup>173</sup> The original dedication copy in the Urbino library is no longer extant: other copies are Vat. Reg. Lat. 1991, Vat. Ottob. Lat. 2056, Trieste, Bibl. Civica, II.XVII.

<sup>174</sup> Now Vat. Ross. 406.

<sup>175</sup> Now Siena, Bibl. Com. LIX. 14, and Vat. Chig. I. IV. 146; cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 114-116 with n. 69, according to whom Chig. I. IV. 146 was written in Milan about 1437 and is one of the first manuscripts owned by Ottaviano.

<sup>176</sup> Urb. Lat. 1260, written in 1470, containing a dialogue by the same Fra Cristoforo of Fano on the conquest of Rimini by Federico's troops on 30 August 1469 (cf. Giovanni Zannoni, 'L'impresa di Rimini (1469) narrata da Piero Acciaiuoli', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. V, 5 [1896], 198-220), and Urb. Lat. 884, s. XV, containing a short history by Girolamo Santucci of Urbino of the attacks of Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini against several cities and castles of Federico in 1451: cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 113 n. 65 and 114-116 n. 69.

<sup>177</sup> Urb. Lat. 1430, written in 1457, the only work of the young medical doctor. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', pp. 112-113 n. 63 points out that Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinae Latini*, III, 326, misread and misspelt the author's name as 'Haspis'.

<sup>178</sup> Ed. Florence, Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1482.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 117-121. On Tifernate's translation of Xenophon's *Lacedaemoniorum Respublica* see Marsh, 'Xenophon', 160-161.

<sup>180</sup> Urb. Lat. 713, s. XV, containing his *Carminum libri I-VII*; cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 123-127; Giorgio Nonni, 'Carmina di Piattino Piatti per Federico da Montefeltro', in *Studi latini in ricordo di Rita Cappelletto*, red. Settimio Lanciotti (Urbino, 1996), pp. 311-334.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 134-137.

<sup>182</sup> See above pp. 22-23 with nn. 89-90.

<sup>183</sup> His *Consolatio de obitu Valerii Marcelli*, transmitted in Vat. Lat. 1790, is preceded by an affectionate and confidential letter to Ottaviano dated Milan, 25 December 1461; cf. Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 113-114 with n. 66.

Giovanni Mario, from whose epic poem *Martias* I discussed the passage on Octavianus-Ottaviano:<sup>184</sup> Urb. Lat. 728 (s. XV ex., chart.) contains in the first 24 folia a collection of some 36 of his Latin poems, most of them addressed to Ludovico Mercatelli, secretary and scribe at the court of Urbino, through whom he had got access to Ottaviano and the court, but there are also poems from his pen to Ottaviano himself, to Antonio da Montefeltro, Federico's second-born natural son, and an elegy on the death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, who had been murdered in the church of S. Stefano in Milan on 26 December 1476.<sup>185</sup> The Urbino library also held his *Descriptio summaria vitae Temyris, regis Turcorum* (Urb. Lat. 1196), a small parchment codex of 87 folia with a dedication to Federico and, in the first letter 'O' of that dedication, a portrait of the author as a young man<sup>186</sup>, and a collection of his *Rime in volgare* in Urb. Lat. 804, a voluminous parchment codex of 329 folia.<sup>187</sup>

Some of these humanists were engaged as teachers for the children of Federico and other persons at court, for instance, Martino Filetico (ca. 1430-ca. 1490)<sup>188</sup>, poet and philologist, who stayed in Urbino in the fifties of the Quattrocento as teacher of Buonconte, first-born natural son of Federico, and Bernardino, son of Ottaviano, who both died of the plague in 1458, and again from 1460 until 1467 when he taught Latin, Greek and philosophy to Battista Sforza, the second wife of Federico, her younger

<sup>184</sup> See pp. 31-33 above.

<sup>185</sup> A number of these poems are preserved in Urb. Lat. 728 among those to Ludovico Mercatelli; the elegy on the death of Galeazzo Maria Sforza is on ff. 21<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>. See Zannoni, 'I due libri della *Martiadios*', 562-572 (who, on p. 570 n. 2, gives the wrong folia for the elegy). In addition, Urb. Lat. 1193 (s. XV, see above pp. 35-36 with n. 136-137) contains in its second part an octastichon and two elegies on Federico. Cf. Peruzzi, *Cultura*, pp. 103, 126.

<sup>186</sup> See above p. 19 with n. 73.

<sup>187</sup> On f. 329<sup>v</sup> the ms. is dated 'pridie Idus Maij M<sup>o</sup>.CCCC<sup>o</sup>LXXI<sup>o</sup>.' The 'Cançon morale' dedicated to Federico on ff. 90<sup>v</sup>-95<sup>v</sup> is also transmitted in Urb. Lat. 702 (ff. 75<sup>v</sup>-80<sup>v</sup>) after the second book of the *Martias*; see Zannoni, 'I due libri della *Martiadios*', 558-559.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Umberto Caperna, 'Martino Filetico, umanista ciociaro del Quattrocento', in *Eruditi e letterati del Lazio*, a cura di R. Lefèvre, Lunario Romano, 18 (Roma, 1989), pp. 199-216; Michelini Tocci, 'Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda e una inedita testimonianza', 103-105; Concetta Bianca, 'Filetico, Martino', in *DBI*, 47 (1997), 636-640; Ead., 'Martino Filetico, Giovanni Luigi Toscani et alii', in *Studi latini in ricordo di Rita Cappelletto*, pp. 271-283; Guido Arbizzoni, 'Martino Filetico alla corte feltresca: le *Iocundissimae Disputationes* e l'educazione del principe', in *Città e corte nell'Italia di Piero della Francesca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Urbino 4-7 ottobre 1992*, a cura di Claudia Cieri Via (Venezia, 1996), pp. 375-397; *Martino Filetico umanista e maestro di vita*. Atti del Convegno, Ferentino 12-13 novembre 1988 (Casamari, 1990). See also the introduction by Guido Arbizzoni in *Martino Filetico, Iocundissimae Disputationes*, pp. 9-59 and above p. 30 with n. 116.

brother Costanzo and the second-born natural son of Federico, Antonio.<sup>189</sup> A vivid testimony to the intellectual level of his teachings are his *Iocundissimae disputationes*, dedicated to Ottaviano Ubaldini (Urb. Lat. 1200), which render in dialogue form the conversations between Filetico himself as *magister* and his pupils Battista, Costanzo and Antonio.<sup>190</sup> Ottaviano Ubaldini also appointed several teachers for his nephew Guidobaldo, Federico's only legitimate son and heir: between 1476 and 1478, there were Giovanni Mario Filelfo, James of Spiers, Paul of Middelburg<sup>191</sup>, Ludovico Odasio of Padua (ca. 1445-ca.1510), who had studied Greek philosophy and translated works of Plutarch and Epictetus and the *Tabula Cebetis*, edited Censorinus' *De die natali*<sup>192</sup> and in 1482

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Bonvini Mazzanti, *Battista Sforza Montefeltro*, pp. 38-39, 47-51 and the literature on Filetico quoted in the previous note. Antonio was an older half-brother of Guidobaldo and very much interested in Greek and Latin literature; in 1476 he received from Cardinal Bessarion an elegant manuscript with the Greek text of Homer's *Iliad* (Urb. Gr. 137). Later he married Emilia Pia da Carpi, who after his death (1500), together with Elisabetta Gonzaga, widow of Guidobaldo, appears as a participant in the discussions in Baldessar Castiglione's *Libro del Cortigiano*, which is set at the court of Urbino in 1507.

<sup>190</sup> See the edition by Guido Arbizzoni, *Martino Filetico, Iocundissimae Disputationes*. Further works, written during his second stay in Urbino with primarily didactic purpose, are the poems *De viris illustribus* on famous Romans, *De poetis antiquis*, and the *Lives* of Ovid, Virgil, Theocritus and Horace (a fifth one on Homer was drafted, but is not transmitted): cf. Bianca in *DBI*, 47 (1997), 637, and Arbizzoni, 'Martino Filetico alla corte feltresca', 376-377.

<sup>191</sup> In the *Memoria felicissima de lo ill.mo Duca Federico, Duca di Urbino, e de la sua famiglia che teneva. Opera de Susech antiquo cortigiano*, a list of courtiers and servants at the court of Urbino, compiled about 1507/8 by Susech of Castel Durante, a former page of Federico, and transmitted in two versions in Urb. Lat. 1204 (s. XVI, chart.), ff. 97<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>r</sup>, are mentioned under the heading 'Li Maestri del S. Duca [sc. Guidobaldo] in Gramatica, Logica et Filosofia': 'mro. Lazaro Racanelli da Ugobio (fu poi vescovo d'Urbino), mro. Mario Filosofo, mro. Paulo astrologo, mro. Jacomo Astrologo, mro. Giorgio frate da San franc<sup>co</sup>.' Already Clough, 'Federigo di Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 133 has seen that 'Filosofo' is a scribal error for 'Filelfo'. The two astrologers are Paul of Middelburg and James of Spiers. For a discussion of the list see *ibid.*, 131-133, and Luigi Michelini Tocci, 'I due manoscritti urbinati dei privilegi dei Montefeltro. Con una Appendice Lauranesca', *La Bibliofilia*, 60 (1958), 206-257 (Volume unico dedicato alla memoria del Card. Giovanni Mercati. Studi e Ricerche raccolti a cura di Lamberto Donati (Firenze, 1959)). The persons mentioned in that list were not employed at one and the same time but 'Susech simply listed under the various posts [...] all he knew who had ever served in such a capacity' (Clough, 'Federigo di Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 132). The second and larger version was printed for the first time by Zannoni, 'I due libri della *Martidos*', 666-671 and later with corrections in *Ordini et Offitij alla corte del Serenissimo Signor Duca d'Urbino. Dal manoscritto della Biblioteca Vaticana n. 1248*, a cura di Giuseppe Ermini (Urbino, 1932), Appendice pp. I-X. A critical edition announced by Cecil H. Clough has not yet been published.

<sup>192</sup> See above p. 31 with n. 118. On his translation of the *Tabula Cebetis* see Cora E. Lutz, 'Ps. Cebes', in *CTC*, 6 (1986), 1-14 (pp. 3-4).

delivered the funeral speech for Federico<sup>193</sup>, and — last but not least — our Cantalycius himself, who fulfilled the function of teacher in the early nineties of the Quattrocento.<sup>194</sup>

There were, however, also humanists who tried to get a position at the court of Urbino and dedicated their works to Federico or Ottaviano but did in the end not achieve their aim. In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century we know the case of Antonio Baratella (ca. 1385-1448)<sup>195</sup>, a schoolmaster in the Veneto and prolific poet of many thousands of verses, who flooded the neighbouring cities and courts with the products of his fertile pen and also tried his luck with Guidantonio, Federico's grandfather, to whom he sent two small manuscripts with some of his poems<sup>196</sup>, but in vain — his aspirations were never fulfilled. The astronomer Johannes Müller ('Regiomontanus') also would have liked to be appointed in Urbino, but he also failed.

Another case was that of Giovanni Mario Filelfo, who, after the glorious victory of Federico of 1463/4 against Iacopo Piccinnino and Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini, wrote his *Martias* and sent a dedication copy (Urb. Lat. 702) to Federico, hoping for a position either in the library which Federico in that year was beginning to expand, or as tutor of the son and heir to the throne whose birth was to be expected after Federico's

<sup>193</sup> The Latin original is transmitted in Urb. Lat. 1233, a translation in *volgare* in Urb. Lat. 1252 (s. XVI, chart.). In 1488 he also delivered a funeral speech for Ippolita Sforza (1446-1488), daughter of Francesco Sforza of Milan (and cousin of Battista Sforza, the second wife of Federico da Montefeltro) who in 1465 had married Alfonso II of Aragon (1448-1495), Duke of Calabria (since 1458) and King of Naples (1494-1495). The speech is transmitted in Napol. IX F 49 (s. XV ex.) and was edited by A. Altamura, 'Un'orazione inedita di Lodovico Odasio per la morte d'Ippolita Sforza', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 107, 2 (1948/9), 195-200. Odasio is also addressed in several poems by Cantalycius and other court poets: cf. Cantalycius, *Epigrammata* no. 2 (Urb. Lat. 718) = no. 51 (Urb. Lat. 719). In 1499 Polydore Vergil of Urbino dedicated to him his work *De inventoribus rerum*.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Zannoni, 'Il Cantalicio alla corte di Urbino'; Croce, 'Sulla vita e le opere del Cantalicio', pp. 366-367; Germano, 'Giambattista Valentini detto il Cantalicio', pp. 38-40; Monreal, 'Cantalycius' Gedichte auf Federico da Montefeltro', p. 152.

<sup>195</sup> See B. Ziliotto, 'Baratella, Antonio', in *DBI*, 5 (1963), 778-780; Heinz Hofmann, 'Antonius Baratella', in *Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500-1500)*, curant. Michael Lapidge e.a., adiuv. Lidia Lanza e.a. (Firenze, 2000-), I/3 (2001), 315-316; Id., 'Das autobiographische Widmungsgedicht zur *Metrologia Priscianica* des Antonius Baratella', in *Scripturus vitam: Lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart. Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. von Dorothea Walz (Heidelberg, 2002), pp. 1031-1047. On his biography and the contemporary documents and sources, see A. Segarizzi, 'Antonio Baratella e i suoi corrispondenti', *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta*, ser. III, 10 (1916), 1-187.

<sup>196</sup> Urb. Lat. 705 (s. XV, ff. 24) and 706 (s. XV, ff. 32).

marriage to Battista Sforza in February 1460. But the son, Guidobaldo, was only born in 1472, eight years after the completion of the *Martias*, and Filelfo had to wait another four years until, through the intervention of Ludovico Mercatelli, he was called by Ottaviano to Urbino in 1476.<sup>197</sup>

Finally there is the Florentine poet Naldo Naldi (1436-ca. 1513)<sup>198</sup>, who celebrated Federico's conquest of Volterra in 1472 in an heroic poem in four books *Volaterrais*.<sup>199</sup> In 1474 he sent a dedication copy of this poem together with a letter to the Duke of Urbino in which he recommended himself for a position at his court. Since Federico did not acknowledge the receipt of the poem and the letter, Naldi sent several other letters of similar content and a few short poems to Federico himself, to Ottaviano Ubaldini and two secretaries of the Duke, Federico Galli and Pietro Felici, but all these efforts remained unsuccessful.<sup>200</sup> Eventually he received a short and polite answer by Federico who, however, promised neither financial remuneration for the poem nor any function at his court but merely apologised for the delay of his reply and praised the outstanding poetic talent of Naldi.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> See Clough, 'Federigo da Montefeltro's Patronage of the Arts', 133-134, and above pp. 31-33 with n. 121.

<sup>198</sup> He was a protégé of the Medici family in Florence and a close friend of Marsilio Ficino, of whose Neo-Platonic Academy he was a member, but after quarreling with Lorenzo de' Medici he was looking for a new sponsor. Cf. W. Leonard Grant, 'The Life of Naldo Naldi', *Studies in Philology*, 60 (1963), 606-617.

<sup>199</sup> On the Urb. Lat. 373 see below p. 50 with n. 203. The only other ms. that contains the *Volaterrais* is Jenensis Sag. Q. 1 (s. XV ex., membr.). Edition by W. Leonard Grant, *Naldi Naldii Florentini Bucolica, Volaterrais, Hastiludium, Carmina varia*, Nuova collezione di testi umanistici inediti o rari, XVI (Florentiae, 1974), who on pp. 16-17 describes the two manuscripts. Naldi's epigrams, edited more than 60 years ago, also contain numerous poems on Federico da Montefeltro: *Naldus Naldius Florentinus, Epigrammaton Liber*, ed. Alexander Perosa, *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum: Saecula XV-XVI* (Budapest, 1943). Cf. Giovanni Zannoni, 'Il sacco di Volterra: un poema di N. Naldi e l'orazione di B. Scala', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. V, 3 (1894), 224-244; W. Leonard Grant, 'The Major Poems of Naldo Naldi', *Manuscripta*, 6 (1962), 131-154; Id., 'Naldo Naldi and the *Volaterrais*', *Rassegna Volterrana*, 32 (1956), 3-21; Claudia Schindler, 'Die Eroberung von Volterra durch Federico da Montefeltro als epischer Stoff: Naldo Naldi's *Volaterrais*', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (2005), 167-181.

<sup>200</sup> See Grant, 'Naldo Naldi and Codex Urbinas Latinus 1198', *Manuscripta*, 6 (1962), 67-75, who prints Naldi's subsequent letters and epigrams and Federico's letter on pp. 70-74; cf. also Schindler, 'Die Eroberung von Volterra', 179-180. On Federico Galli (ca. 1435-1478), son of Angelo Galli, see Giorgio Nonni, 'Galli, Federico', in *DBI*, 51 (1998) pp. 617-619, and Michelini Tocci, 'I due manoscritti urbinati', 215-225.

<sup>201</sup> Naldi's letters and his final reply (in six elegiac distichs) to Federico's answer are transmitted in a manuscript now preserved in Naples, Bibl. Naz. Vittorio Emmanuele III, lat. IX. F. 49, ff. 13<sup>v</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>; they were edited by W. Leonard Grant, 'Naldo Naldi and Codex

Naldi's autographs of both the *Volaterrais* and his correspondence in connection with it are not preserved, but a copy of his epic poem was transcribed in Urb. Lat. 373, a parchment codex, written by Federico Veterani, which contains additional poems dedicated to Federico: an elegy by Martino Filetico on the death of Battista Sforza in 1472, another elegy by Francesco Maturanzio<sup>202</sup> on the death of Grifone Baglioni of Perugia in 1477 and, by Porcelio de' Pandoni, three books of his *Carmina*, two consolatory epistles to Federico on the occasion of the death of Battista Sforza, and the *Feltria* in the last redaction of nine books, an epic poem on the campaigns of Federico in the years 1461-1474.<sup>203</sup> Pandoni led a restless life in the service of various other courts (including the papal court) and cities in Italy and also attempted to win the favour of Federico.<sup>204</sup> However, he had to wait some time, which he bridged with a number of poems and epigrams on Federico, Battista Sforza, her uncle Francesco Sforza, Ottaviano Ubaldini and numerous other important persons, written between 1456 and 1460 and preserved in Urb. Lat. 707 and 708.<sup>205</sup> Eventually he gained access to the court in Urbino and stayed there several times. The *Feltria* on which Pandoni began to work at various places in Italy from 1464 on<sup>206</sup>, is the result of Federico's favour,

Urbinas Latinus 1198'. See also Schindler, 'Die Eroberung von Volterra', 167 n. 1. Federico's letter is preserved in Urb. Lat. 1198 (s. XV, chart.), ff. 82<sup>v</sup>-83<sup>r</sup>, a collection of some 100 letters written on behalf of Federico to various recipients; it was edited by Zannoni, 'Il sacco di Volterra', 233, and Alatri, *Federico da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino - Lettere di stato e d'arte*, p. 108; cf. Schindler, 'Die Eroberung von Volterra', 179 n. 45.

<sup>202</sup> On Maturanzio see G. Zappacosta, *Francesco Maturanzio umanista perugino* (Bergamo, 1970).

<sup>203</sup> Urb. Lat. 373 is the oldest and best manuscript for this last version. Urb. Lat. 710, a paper codex of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, also has the last redaction in nine books, but it is simply an apograph of 373, whereas Urb. Lat. 709 contains the dedication copy of the first version in three books, comprising the years 1461-1463, and elegies and epigrams by Porcelio, dedicated to Pio II, Federico da Montefeltro and other persons at the court in Urbino. On the relation of the mss. see Lorenzo Carnevali, 'La Feltria di Porcelio Pandoni: preliminari per una edizione critica', *Studi Umanistici Picensi*, 15 (1995), 31-35. The *Feltria* is still unpublished, only the verses from Book VIII (vv. 500-546 [my numbering]) with the description of the ducal palace of Urbino have been printed for the first time by Schmarzow, *Melozzo da Forlì*, pp. 75-76 and then several times afterwards, most recently (with critical apparatus and notes) by Sandro Boldrini (see below n. 207).

<sup>204</sup> Cf. Ugo Frittelli, *Giannantonio dei Pandoni, detto il Porcellio* (Firenze, 1900), pp. 74-78 (on his contacts with Urbino); Fedele Marletta, 'Per la biografia di Porcelio dei Pandoni', *La Rinascita*, 16 (1940), 842-881; Zannoni, 'Porcellio Pandoni ed i Montefeltro'.

<sup>205</sup> Urb. Lat. 707 (s. XV) is a small codex of 49 folia; Urb. Lat. 708 consists of 57 folia and has on f. 53 the date 1456; cf. Zannoni, 'Porcellio Pandoni ed i Montefeltro', pp. 105 and 503-504.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 492 n. 1.

who explicitly commissioned that work from the poet. Its historical contents are based on close contacts with the leading administrators at court, in particular Pierantonio Paltroni, on whose *Commentari* he relied in the first place, then on the *Cronaca* of Ser Guerriero di Gubbio, the *Commentarii* of Pope Pius II and a number of official documents from the archive of Urbino.<sup>207</sup> Therefore, the *Feltria* is not a myth-historical synthesis as is Filelfo's *Martias* but a strictly historical narrative of the single campaigns and political events without divine machinery, mythological digressions or similar elements of traditional epic poetry. Its completion took a long time, and Pandoni tried to prevent criticism from other poets on account of his long silence with the announcement of his *maius opus* (Urb. Lat. 373, f. 139):

Musa Federici modulata volumina septem  
fortia Monferetri pinxerat arma ducis.  
Pinxerat et quanta virtute feratur in hostem  
quotque duces quotque Marte subegit opes.  
5 Unde per ora virum volitat totumque per orbem  
fama Feretraei principis illa mei.

However, the death of Battista Sforza in 1472 silenced his Muse so that, having completed seven books, he could not continue his heroic poem. Eventually he finished the *Feltria* around 1475, ten years before he died in 1485.

I am fully aware that this sketch of the literary and artistic life and culture at the court of Urbino which I tried to give you is more than lacunose, and the examples I have picked out are chosen more according to my own research interests than on the basis of a systematic study: such a systematic study, however, must remain a task for the future after more detailed research has been done on individual poets, scholars, librarians,

<sup>207</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 492-493; Carnevali, 'La Feltria di Porcelio Pandoni', 34. The only letter of Federico to Porcelio which is preserved dates from about 1472 (Urb. Lat. 1193, f. 86, printed in Cinquini, 'Spigolature', *Classici e Neolatini*, 3 (1907), 197-212 (p. 198), and Alatri, *Federico da Montefeltro, Duca d'Urbino - Lettere di stato e d'arte*, pp. 114-115); in it Federico praises Porcelio's poetry and blames Pierantonio Paltroni for not providing enough material to the poet for the continuation of the *Feltria*: cf. Enrico Londei, 'Lo stemma sul portale di ingresso e la facciata «ad ali» del palazzo ducale di Urbino', *Xenia*, 18 (1989), 93-114 (p. 114 n. 35), with 'Appendici' (extracts from poems by Porcelio de' Pandoni) by Sandro Boldrini, pp. 114-117.



scribes, miniaturists, and the history and contents of the *Codices Urbinales*: it is true they have been carefully described by Cosimo Stor-najolo a hundred years ago but their exploitation for a history of the literary culture at the court of Urbino is still a work for the next few generations. However, it has become clear, I think, that a history of the literary culture in Urbino in the Quattrocento is, in the first instance, a history of books and readers, and here, again in the first place, a history of that person who was intended as reader of so many manuscripts, although he found time for reading only in the few spare hours between his political and military commitments. Let us, therefore, have a look at the Duke himself, as he is portrayed in a famous painting by Pedro Berruguete<sup>208</sup> of about 1480<sup>209</sup>, seated on a throne and holding in his hands a book, bound in red crimson, in which he is silently reading. He wears his armour but is bareheaded, his helmet lying on the ground. He stretches his left leg forward so that the Order of the Garter, which he received in the autumn of 1474 from the King of England, can be seen. Over his armour he wears a scarlet robe with gold brocade and, round his neck, the *cappa magna*, the collar of ermine, and, over it, the collar of the Order of Ermine, awarded to him about the same time by King Ferrante of Naples. The jewel-and-pearl-incrusted hat, prominently displayed on a lectern in the top left corner, and the ceremonial sword in the red cover hanging on his sword-belt are marks of distinction which he received

<sup>208</sup> It has also been ascribed to Justus of Ghent, but now it is generally seen as a work of Berruguete: see G. Neerman, 'Il ritratto di Federico di Montefeltro e di Guidobaldo e il problema di Pedro Berruguete', in *Urbino e le Marche prima e dopo Raffaello*, a cura di Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè Dal Poggetto e Paolo Dal Poggetto (Firenze, 1983), pp. 88-90; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 362. Illustration, for instance, *ibid.*, p. 172, pl. VI; Peruzzi, *Cultura*, tav. XXII and fig. 1 below p. 55.

<sup>209</sup> Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 367-368, argue for a first version of the painting in 1476 which Berruguete overpainted and updated in 1480 by adding the cap and the sword which Federico had in the meantime received from the pope; at the same time the painter replaced the original, smaller book with the present larger one and changed the sceptre in the hands of Guidobaldo, although Guidobaldo's figure remained the same, a depiction at the age of about four years as he was in 1476. The place where the painting was displayed is much disputed: many scholars were inclined to give it a place in the *studiolo* of Urbino, but this possibility seems definitely to be excluded; instead one rather thinks of 'a more public space' (Charles M. Rosenberg, 'The Double Portrait of Federico and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro: Power, Wisdom, and Dynasty', in *Federico di Montefeltro*, II: *Le arti*, 213-222 (p. 213 n. 1)): see the discussion in Cheles, *Lo studiolo*, pp. 17-20. Clough, 'Art as Power', 23-28, and Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, p. 363, revive the argument for a place in the Urbino *studiolo*.

from Pope Sixtus IV on Christmas 1479. Next to him, leaning against his right knee, stands Guidobaldo at the age of about four, he, too, beautifully dressed in a ceremonial fur-lined robe, the so-called *pellanda* or *guarnacca*. Around his head he wears a diadem with pearls and a big gem, and around his neck a precious collier with a pendant of amethyst. On his left ring finger he wears the ring of the successor to the throne, in his right hand he holds a richly ornate sceptre on which the word PONTIFEX is engraved — no doubt a reference to the fact that the Duchy of Montefeltro was a papal fief.

This painting is obviously a piece of official propaganda with a message not only for the literary circles at the court of Urbino but also for the other courts in Italy: look, Duke Federico of Montefeltro is a great statesman and warrior, the *condottiere* and *gonfaloniere* of the pope, *capitano generale* of the *lega italica* and victor in so many battles, but he is also a man of letters, a book fanatic and bibliophile, a restless collector who spent enormous sums on manuscripts and who owns a library that, at the time the painting was completed, was one of the greatest libraries in Italy and the whole of Europe, and — last but not least — he is a reader who, in spite of his political commitments, still finds enough time to read in his books and to discuss with other humanists the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church, the authors of Classical Antiquity, the theologians of the Middle Ages and the writings of the poets, philosophers and historiographers of his own time. One should therefore like to know which book Federico is reading here: Is it one of the ancient historians he liked so much? Is it his beloved Aristotle? Is it Giovanni Mario Filelfo's *Martias* or Porcelio de' Pandoni's *Feltria*? Dante's *Commedia* or Petrarch's *Rime*? Is it one of the many collections of poems by humanists dedicated to him? Is it a volume of the magnificent Bible of 1476/8 (Urb. Lat. 1-2)?<sup>210</sup> Or is it a book enumerating the privileges of the Duchy of Montefeltro he is showing to his son and heir, emphasizing, as it were, the dynastic continuity? Or is it one of the moral treatises on the perfect

<sup>210</sup> This theory would fit the observation that, when Berruguete painted over the double portrait in 1480, the original smaller book was replaced by the present larger one; it is advocated by Hartmut Biermann, 'Federico da Montefeltro und sein Sohn Guidobaldo. Das Bild als ein Dokument dynastischer Ansprüche', in *Musis et Litteris. Festschrift für Bernhard Rupprecht zum 65. Geburtstag*, hg. von Silvia Glaser und Andrea M. Kluxen unter Mitarbeit von Volkmar Greiselmayer (München, 1993), pp. 117-142 (pp. 117-118).

statesman in the tradition of the medieval manuals of statecraft he is explaining to Guidobaldo in order to prepare him for his future task?<sup>211</sup> We never shall know.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> On recent attempts at interpretation of the painting see Rosenberg, 'The Double Portrait'; Biermann, 'Federico da Montefeltro und sein Sohn Guidobaldo'; Id., 'orbis - Jupiter optimus maximus - sol invictus. Ein Beitrag zur Herrscherallegorie des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Ars naturam adiuvans: Festschrift für Matthias Winner zum 11. März 1996*, hg. von Victoria von Flemming und Sebastian Schütze (Mainz, 1996), pp. 117-131; Lauts – Herzner, *Federico da Montefeltro*, pp. 362-368; Roeck – Tönnemann, *Die Nase Italiens*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>212</sup> For the correction of the English text I am much indebted to Elizabeth Lochhead (Christ Church/NZ) and Prof. Andrew R. Dyck (Los Angeles); for advice in matters of paintings and history of art, to my Tübingen colleague Sergiusz Michalski.

**Appendix: illustrations**

Fig 1. Pedro Berruguete, Double portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and his son Guidobaldo (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche).



Fig 2. Lunette by Francesco di Giorgio with portraits of Federico da Montefeltro and his brother Ottaviano Ubaldini della Carda (Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche).



Fig 3. Cod. Vat. Urb. Lat. 1193, f. 3r, written by Federico Veterani ca. 1517, with three short poems by him and a portrait of Federico da Montefeltro (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

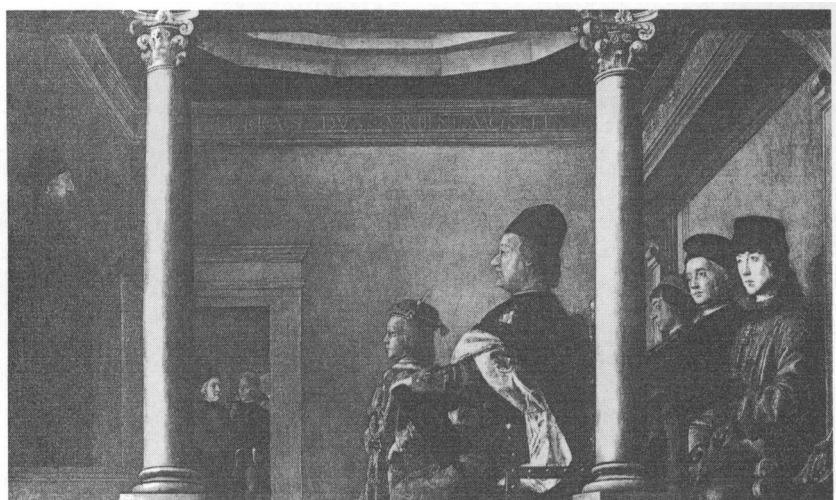


Fig 4. Pedro Berruguete (?), *The Oration* (Hampton Court Castle, England).



Fig 5. Federico da Montefeltro in conversation with an unknown humanist: miniature on the parchment folio glued onto the fly-leaf of Urb. lat. 508 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



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## KRITISCHE UND INTERPRETATORISCHE BEMERKUNGEN ZU DEN *APOLOGI CENTUM* DES LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI<sup>1</sup>

Als zu Beginn des 15. Jhs. die angeblich von Äsop stammenden griechischen Fabelsammlungen in Italien bekannt wurden, schlug sich die Begeisterung hierüber zunächst in zahlreichen Übersetzungen und Adaptationen nieder.<sup>2</sup> Der erste Autor, der über diese einfachen Formen der Aneignung hinausging und sich von Äsop zu einer Serie selbsterfundener Fabeln inspirieren ließ, war kein Geringerer als Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472).<sup>3</sup> In nur neun Tagen, vom 16. bis zum 24. Dezember 1437,

<sup>1</sup> Mein herzlicher Dank gilt Stefano Prandi, Florian Schaffenrath und Stefan Tilg, die eine frühere Fassung dieses Aufsatzes gelesen und durch ihre Anmerkungen bereichert haben. — Folgende Ausgaben von Albertis *Apologi* werden herangezogen: Paola Testi Massetani, 'Ricerche sugli "Apologi" di Leon Battista Alberti', *Rinascimento*, 12 (1972), 79-133; Rosario Contarino, *Leon Battista Alberti, 'Apologhi' et 'Elogi'* (Genua: Costa & Nolan, 1984); Marcello Ciccuto, *Leon Battista Alberti, 'Apologhi'* (Turin: Nino Aragno, 1989); Pierre Laurens, *Leon Battista Alberti, 'Fables sans morale', suivi de 'Prophéties facétieuses' de Léonard de Vinci* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1997); David Marsh, *Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Baldi*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 260 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004). Andere Werke Albertis werden zitiert nach: Cecil Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti, Opere volgari*, 3 Bde. (Bari: Laterza, 1960-1973); Riccardo Fubini – Anna Menci Gallorini, 'L'autobiografia di Leon Battista Alberti. Studio e edizione', *Rinascimento*, 12 (1972), 21-78; Laura Goggi Carotti, *Leon Battista Alberti, 'De commodis litterarum atque incommodis'* (Florenz: Olschki, 1976); Franco Bacchelli – Luca D'Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti, 'Intercentales'* (Bologna: Pendragon, 2003). Die unter Äsops Namen gehenden Fabelsammlungen werden nach Ben Edwin Perry, *Aesopica* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1952), andere antike Autoren nach den führenden Ausgaben zitiert. Der *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (München: Saur, 1900–) wird mit *ThLL*, das *Mittellateinische Wörterbuch* (München: Beck, 1967–) mit *MW*, das *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982 u.ö.) mit *OLD*, der *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, 13 Bde. (Berlin u.a.: de Gruyter, 1995-2003) mit *TPMA* abgekürzt.

<sup>2</sup> Einen Überblick bietet Carlo Filosa, *La favola e la letteratura esopiana in Italia dal medio evo ai nostri giorni* (Mailand: Vallardi, 1952), pp. 74-79.

<sup>3</sup> Aus der überbordenden Literatur zu seiner Person sei neben der klassischen Darstellung bei Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, hg. von Horst Günther

verfasste er seine *Apologi Centum*, die in ihrer epigrammatischen Kürze, ihrem Verzicht auf eine explizite Moral und ihrer gewollten Dunkelheit durchaus neuartigen, eigenständigen Charakter tragen. Das dem Kanoniker Francesco Marescalco aus Ferrara gewidmete Büchlein setzte in der Gattungsgeschichte der Fabel einen markanten Akzent. Es inspirierte durch seinen intellektuellen Anspruch die neuplatonisch geprägten Fabeln von Bartolomeo Scala und Marsilio Ficino ebenso wie durch seine Kürze und Prägnanz die volkssprachlichen Stücke eines Leonardo da Vinci und anderer.<sup>4</sup> Danach allerdings wurde es für mehrere hundert Jahre still um die Sammlung.

Erst im Zuge der allgemeinen Alberti-Renaissance der letzten Jahrzehnte wurde auch den *Apologi* wieder ein höheres Maß an Aufmerksamkeit zuteil. Mittlerweile liegen sie in einer ganzen Reihe von modernen Ausgaben vor, die meist auch eine Übersetzung und knappe Erläuterungen enthalten, und sind Gegenstand einiger Aufsätze sowie einzelner Kapitel in Monographien zu Alberti.<sup>5</sup> Dennoch ist die Behauptung, dass es sich bei ihnen vielfach noch um unverstandene Texte handelt, nicht übertrieben. Die einzelnen Stücke werfen auf Schritt und Tritt Verständnisfragen auf, die größtenteils noch unbeantwortet, oft noch nicht einmal als solche erkannt sind. Dabei handelt es sich v.a. um zwei Arten von Schwierigkeiten, die sich gegenseitig verschärfen.

(Frankfurt a.M. – Leipzig: Insel, 1997 (ursprünglich: Basel: [s.n.], 1860)), pp. 145-147 nur noch hervorgehoben Anthony Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti: Baumeister der Renaissance* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2002 (englisches Original: New York: Hill and Wang, 2000)).

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Marsh, *Renaissance Fables*, pp. 1-28.

<sup>5</sup> Moderne Ausgaben: s.o. Anm. 1. (Z.Zt. sind zwei Gesamtausgaben von Albertis Œuvre projektiert bzw. in Arbeit: die vom *Centro di Studi sul Classicismo* in Arezzo betreute *Edizione Nazionale* und die *Opera omnia*, die unter der Ägide der *Société Internationale Leon Battista Alberti* bei *Les Belles Lettres* erscheinen sollen. Nähere Informationen zum Stand der Arbeit und zum geplanten Erscheinungsdatum der *Apologi* waren nicht erhältlich.) Sekundärliteratur: Filosa, *La favola*, pp. 86-90; Rosario Contarino, *Leon Battista Alberti moralista* (Caltanissetta – Rom: Sciascia, 1991), pp. 66-71; Mario Martelli, 'Su due apologhi di L.B. Alberti', *Interpres*, 18 (1999), 183-195; Armando Bisanti, 'A proposito degli "Apologi centum" di Leon Battista Alberti', *Critica letteraria*, 28 (2000), 237-263; David Marsh, 'Alberti, Scala, and Ficino: Aesop in Quattrocento Florence', *Albertiana*, 3 (2000), 105-118; Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 301-307; Rinaldo Rinaldi, "*Melancholia Christiana*": *studi sulle fonti di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florenz: Olschki, 2002), pp. 53-86; Roberto Cardini, 'Cui dono poma centum?', in *Leon Battista Alberti. La biblioteca di un umanista*, hg. von dems. u.a. (Florenz: Mandragora, 2005), pp. 127-132; Pierre Laurens, 'Le retour de l'Alberti latin ("Apologues", "Propos de table", "Momus"): une poétique de l'allégorie', in *Alberti, humaniste, architecte*, hg. von Françoise Choay und Michel Paoli (Paris: École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 2006), pp. 111-127 (pp. 113-117).

Die erste resultiert aus dem Zustand des Textes. Zwar hat Paola Testi Massetani die *Apologi* schon 1972 kritisch ediert, doch ihr Text, den alle späteren Herausgeber zu Grunde legen — und der aus Gründen der Einheitlichkeit vorderhand auch hier in allen Details übernommen wird —, befriedigt nicht. Der Hauptgrund liegt darin, dass sie die zwei Klassen, in die sie die zehn von ihr herangezogenen Handschriften einteilt, fälschlich mit einer früheren ( $\alpha$ ) und einer späteren Redaktion Albertis ( $\beta$ ) gleichsetzt. Da sie Albertis Text letzter Hand geben möchte, bevorzugt sie die Lesarten von  $\beta$  auch dort, wo es sich offensichtlich um Verschreibungen derjenigen von  $\alpha$  handelt.<sup>6</sup> Mario Martelli hat dieses Defizit bereits anhand schlagender Beispiele aufgedeckt.<sup>7</sup> Darüber hinaus erweist sich die Überlieferung bei näherem Hinsehen als in so hohem Maße kontaminiert, dass Testi Massetanis zwei Klassen schon an und für sich fragwürdig erscheinen.<sup>8</sup> Eine neue kritische Ausgabe, die auf einer erneuten gründlichen Prüfung der Überlieferungsverhältnisse fußen müsste, wäre dringend erwünscht. Bis dahin sollte der Text wie folgt behandelt werden: Unter den Lesarten aller Textzeugen (mit Ausnahme der *descripti* T und M) ist nach sachlichen und sprachlichen Gesichtspunkten zu wählen. Insofern, wie sich noch zeigen wird, sämtliche Überlieferungsträger auf einen Archetyp zurückgehen, der bereits an einigen Stellen verderbt war (s.u. zu *Apol.* 28), hat darüber hinaus auch die Konjekturealkritik ihren Platz.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. ihre Diskussion von Überlieferungsgeschichte und Editionsriterien auf pp. 108–118. Ihre Handschriften sind R (Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, cod. 1220, 15. Jh.), N (Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, cod. II X 96, 1463), O (Bodleian Library Oxford, cod. Canon. misc. 127, 1487), C (Biblioteca Nazionale di Parma, cod. Palatinus 267, 15. Jh.), T (Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso, cod. 41, 16. Jh.), P (Biblioteca del Seminario di Padova, cod. CDXXVIII, 15. Jh.), V (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Lat. 3151, einige Jahre jünger als P), F (Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, cod. 717, zwischen 1481 und 1492), M (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, cod. 114 [4143], 12. August 1484), A (Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, cod. X, 9, 16. Jh.).  $\alpha$  = RNOCT,  $\beta$  = PVFMA. St bezeichnet die bis zu Testi Massetani einzige gedruckte Ausgabe des vollständigen lateinischen Textes in den von Gerolamo Massaini besorgten *Leonis Baptistae Alberti Opera* (Florenz: Bartolomeo de' Libri, 1497 (nicht, wie meist zu lesen, 1499; vgl. Bacchelli – D'Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti*, CII)). Ich übernehme im Folgenden diese Siglen.

<sup>7</sup> Martelli, 'Su due apologhi', 192–194, Anm. 19. Martellis eigenes Stemma (p. 193) ist insofern nicht ernst zu nehmen, als es nur auf einer einzigen Textstelle basiert. Dass die These von den zwei Redaktionen unhaltbar ist, schließt im Übrigen die Präsenz von Autorvarianten in der Überlieferung nicht aus; s.u. zu *Apol.* 75.

<sup>8</sup> Selbst in Testi Massetanis eigenen Augen liegen anscheinend  $\alpha$  und  $\beta$  rein nur in R und P bzw. deren Abschriften T und M vor. Über F und A äußert sie sich nicht, N, O, C, V und St erklärt sie ausdrücklich für kontaminiert.

Doch auch abgesehen von den Schwierigkeiten, die der Überlieferungszustand des Textes bietet, erweisen sich viele *Apologi* beim ersten Lesen als schwer bis kaum verständlich. Wie schon angedeutet, ist das Absicht: In einem Brief an Marescalco, den Alberti (zusammen mit einem Schreiben an Äsop und dessen Antwort) der Sammlung voranstellt, bekennt er sich programmatisch zur Dunkelheit seiner Fabeln. Sie seien auf Grund ihrer exzessiven Kürze schwer verständlich und erschlossen sich erst demjenigen, der sie mehrmals lese und sich anstrengt, sie zu begreifen:

Qui, si fortassis tibi subobscuriores aliquo in loco videbuntur, dabis veniam huic nostrae, cui vehementer studuimus, brevitati. Siquidem, ut aiunt, ferme nusquam in dicendo fuit brevitatis non obscura, et apologos quam brevissimos esse oportere censeo, sed quomodo ita perbreves sint, ut, si eos iterum atque iterum relegas, non multum taedium afferrent; peto abs te non dedigneris paulo adhibito studio eos velle cognoscere, qui quidem cogniti, ut arbitror, delectabuntur.<sup>9</sup>

Wenn sie erfolgreich sind, führen die interpretatorischen Bemühungen des Lesers dabei in erster Linie oft nicht auf ein herkömmliches *fabula docet*, sondern vielmehr auf eine Pointe, einen sinnstiftenden Zusammenhang zwischen den scheinbar inkongruenten Elementen des Textes, der sich plötzlich erschließt.<sup>10</sup> Einen *Apologus* Albertis verstehen, heißt in vielen Fällen nicht nur seine Aussage begreifen, sondern, wie bei einem Witz, einer Anekdote, einem Aphorismus oder einem Epigramm<sup>11</sup>, auch die Form erfassen und goutieren, in der er sie macht. Es handelt sich um ein in weit höherem Maße literarisches Verstehen, als es die traditionelle Fabel verlangt.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. etwa Bisanti, 'A proposito degli "Apologi centum"', 250-252; Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 305-306. Die Haltung, die sich hier ausspricht, steht in offensichtlichem Zusammenhang mit Albertis Schwäche für dunkle Sinnsprüche und Embleme: vgl. neben dem berühmten geflügelten Auge mit seiner Impresa *QVID TVM* den zweiten Teil der *Vita* (Fubini – Menci Gallorini, 'L'autobiografia di Leon Battista Alberti', 73-78), die *Sentenze Pitagoriche* (Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, II, 299-300) sowie die *Intercenales Convelata* (Bacchelli – D'Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 552-566) und *Anuli* (Bacchelli – D'Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 764-788, besonders interessant p. 774, II. 152-153: 'dicam unum et alterum ex his, quo cetera per te possis agnoscere'); Fubini – Menci Gallorini, 'L'autobiografia di Leon Battista Alberti', 43-46.

<sup>10</sup> Zum Begriff der Pointe vgl. Ralph Müller, *Theorie der Pointe* (Paderborn: Mentis, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Man hat bereits des Öfteren darauf hingewiesen, dass unter Albertis Vorbildern und Inspirationsquellen das Epigramm, insbesondere Martial, eine große Rolle spielt; vgl. etwa Marsh, *Renaissance Fables*, pp. 19 und 21-23, sowie *Apol.* 98 (s.u.).

Herausgeber, Übersetzer und Interpreten versäumen es in der Regel, Albertis programmatischen Äußerungen und dem Textbefund selbst gerecht zu werden. Dass dunkle Fabeln kommentarlos abgedruckt werden, ist keine Seltenheit.<sup>12</sup> Wo Erläuterungen gegeben werden, konzentrieren sie sich meist auf die inhaltliche Seite der Stücke: mit altertumskundlichen und literaturgeschichtlichen Hintergrundinformationen, literarischen Quellen und Parallelstellen aus Albertis Œuvre werden Elemente angeführt, die zu den Voraussetzungen für eine Erklärung zählen können, für sich genommen aber noch nichts erklären. Der Versuch einer Interpretation im eigentlichen Sinne, wie ihn insbesondere Testi Massetani für die meisten *Apologi* unternimmt, erschöpft sich häufig in der Zuschreibung einer allgemeingültigen Aussage. Ausnahmen bestätigen die Regel.<sup>13</sup>

Allerdings bedürfen nicht alle *Apologi* gleichermaßen einer eingehenden Erklärung, und nicht alle, die nach einer solchen verlangen, lassen sie gleichermaßen zu: ein großer Teil erschließt sich dem Leser unmittelbar oder nach kurzem Nachdenken, ein kleinerer widersteht auch hartnäckigen Bemühungen.<sup>14</sup> Das gute Viertel der Sammlung, das hier diskutiert wird, steht zwischen diesen Extremen. Im Folgenden sollen die wichtigsten textkritischen und interpretatorischen Schwierigkeiten der betreffenden Stücke angesprochen und nach Möglichkeit Wege zu ihrer Lösung aufgezeigt werden. Auf eine gebrauchsfertige Methodik kann man zu diesem Zweck nicht zurückgreifen. Zwar können problemlos erscheinende Beispiele zeigen, wie Alberti seine Fabeln anlegt, und so Hinweise darauf geben, in welche Richtung die Suche gehen sollte, erfolgreich 'gelöste' Texte das heuristische Instrumentarium bereichern, doch eine Garantie

<sup>12</sup> Dabei scheint mitunter die Vorstellung mitzuspielen, die *Apologi* seien prinzipiell mehrdeutig und nicht auf eine bestimmte Aussage festzulegen; wer das versuche, stelle damit nur die eigene Pedanterie unter Beweis (vgl. z.B. Laurens, 'Le retour', p. 116). In Wirklichkeit lassen sich zwar viele *Apologi* oberflächlicher und tiefgründiger verstehen, doch nur selten scheinen sich zwei — nicht beliebig viele — gleichwertige Möglichkeiten der Interpretation zu ergeben (vgl. zu *Apol.* 29, 76, 83, 89).

<sup>13</sup> Unter ihnen ist an erster Stelle Martelli, 'Su due apologhi' zu nennen, eine inspirierende Interpretation der *Apologi* 1 und 32.

<sup>14</sup> In die erste Klasse würde ich persönlich *Apol.* 2-6, 8-9, 11-13, 15, 19-21, 23-27, 38-40, 45, 47, 49-50, 52-56, 58-59, 61, 63-66, 69-70, 72-74, 77-82, 84-85, 87-88, 90-91, 93-95, 97 und 99 einordnen, in die zweite *Apol.* 14, 36, 42-43, 48, 62 und 67. Bei *Apol.* 17, 33, 46, 68 und 86 hängt die Einordnung davon ab, ob man bereit ist, sich mit einer vergleichsweise trivialen Aussage zufrieden zu geben. Den schwierigen *Apol.* 32 hat Martelli, 'Su due apologhi', 183-190, aufgeheilt. Man vergleiche mit dieser Einteilung die Klassifikation der *Apologi* nach Klarheit und Dunkelheit durch Rinaldi, "*Melancholia Christiana*", pp. 75-82.

dafür, dass man sich nicht auch umgekehrt von falschen Lösungen in die Irre führen lässt, gibt es nicht. Im Idealfall beginnt sich im Laufe der Interpretationsarbeit so etwas wie eine Poetik des albertischen *Apologus* abzuzeichnen. Sie auszuformulieren und von derjenigen der antiken und mittelalterlichen Fabel abzusetzen, würde jedoch den Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes sprengen.<sup>15</sup> Dasselbe gilt für die Diskussion sprachlicher, stilistischer und literarischer Aspekte sowie historischer, geistes- und kulturgeschichtlicher Hintergründe, soweit sie für das Textverständnis im skizzierten Sinne nicht unmittelbar relevant sind. All dies könnte angemessen nur im Rahmen eines echten Kommentars zu den *Apologi* behandelt werden, der wie eine neue kritische Ausgabe zu den Desiderata der Alberti-Forschung zählt. Den vorliegenden Bemerkungen geht es in erster Linie darum, ein Schlaglicht auf die Schwierigkeiten und auf die literarische Brillanz dieser Sammlung zu werfen, die über ihre gattungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung hinaus nicht ohne Grund zum Höhepunkt der Renaissancefabel überhaupt erklärt worden ist.<sup>16</sup> Wenn sie dadurch zu einer konzentrierteren Auseinandersetzung mit Albertis *Apologi* anregen könnten, als sie bislang stattgefunden hat, hätten sie ihr Ziel vollauf erreicht.

### ***Apologus 1***

Aegre ferebat pila caedi alapis pervolvique luto et nullo posse loco consistere; incudi contra subsidere continue ictibus acerbum erat. Cum homine iccirco egere ut, posteaquam esset eiusmodi rebus veluti deus qui varias posset elargiri formas, incudem in pilam pilamque in incudem verteret. "Hae res — inquit homo — vobis non conveniunt. Sed, si iuvat, ex incude ligones, rastros, atque bidentes efficiam". "Malo — inquit illa — pristinam amplitudinem et gravitatem servare ac tibi quidem pilae consulo, malis pervolando atque persiliendo homines in ludo et admiratione tui detinere".

Die beste Diskussion dieses *Apologus*, insbesondere seiner Textgestalt, bietet Martelli.<sup>17</sup> Er schreibt u.a. in der von Testi Massetani akzeptierten

<sup>15</sup> Sie ist nicht losgelöst von der inhaltlichen Topik der *Apologi* zu verstehen, wie sie Testi Massetani, "Ricerche sugli "Apologhi"", 79-107, und Rinaldi, "*Melancholia Christiana*", pp. 70-75, zu umreißen versuchen, sollte aber nicht mit dieser verwechselt werden.

<sup>16</sup> Filosa, *La favola*, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> Martelli, "Su due apologhi", 190-195.

Phrase 'hae res vobis non conveniunt' statt *hae res* mit **RNCOST** *mores* und tilgt mit **R** *vobis*. Letzteres ist wahrscheinlich wirklich ein verdeutlichender Zusatz eines Kopisten (vgl. *OLD*, s.v. 'convenio', 6), und auch das Plädoyer gegen *hae res* überzeugt: der Ausdruck ist zur Bezeichnung des gewünschten Gestaltentausches ungeeignet. Ergibt aber *mores* einen befriedigenden Sinn? Der Vorschlag des Menschen, aus dem Amboss Hacken, Rechen und Grabgabeln herzustellen, zeigt ja gerade, dass sich die *mores* ändern lassen — wie der Amboss selbst erkennt, würde er so seine 'pristinam amplitudinem et gravitatem' verlieren. Was dem Gestaltentausch wirklich im Wege steht, ist vielmehr die Tatsache, dass die beiden Gegenstände aus unterschiedlichem Material bestehen: mit einer Eisenkugel könnte man nicht spielen, der weichere Stoff, aus dem der Ball besteht, taugt nicht als Unterlage zum Schmieden. Dass man zwar Formen ändern kann, der zu Grunde liegende Stoff aber derselbe bleibt, kommt auch noch in *Apol.* 87 zur Sprache. All dies legt *materies non conveniunt* nahe: 'die Materialien, aus denen ihr besteht, sind dafür nicht geeignet'.<sup>18</sup>

Gegen Ende seiner Diskussion (pp. 194-195) weist Martelli zu Recht auf den Umstand hin, dass zwischen den Rollen, die Amboss und Ball spielen, eine Asymmetrie besteht: Der Mensch macht nur dem Amboss Vorschläge zur Umgestaltung. Dieser verwahrt sich dagegen und ermahnt dann seinerseits den Ball, seinen törichten Wunsch nach einem neuen Schicksal fallen zu lassen. Diese Asymmetrie mit Martelli als unbefriedigend zu empfinden und gar an Textausfall zu denken, liegt jedoch kein Grund vor. Alberti skizziert ein lebhaftes Gespräch und gibt jedem der Teilnehmer einen eigenen Charakter: Der standfeste Amboss dürfte der Stimme der Vernunft von Anfang an zugänglicher sein als der unstete Ball. Als er hört, dass der Mensch ihm statt Handwerks- Bauernarbeit und damit in erster Linie nicht die erhoffte Leichtigkeit und Beweglichkeit, sondern den Schmutz zudenkt, in dem der Ball umherrollen muss (vgl. *pervolvi luto*), unterbricht er ihn erschrocken. Dann gibt er seine neu gewonnene Einsicht gleich an den Ball weiter.

<sup>18</sup> Die Verschreibungen werden leichter verständlich, wenn man von einer Abkürzung wie *mañes* ausgeht (vgl. Adriano Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* (Mailand: Hoepli, 1979<sup>6</sup>), pp. 211-214).

### *Apologus 7*

Officina admirata petierat unde tantum folles spiritum possent effundere.  
Respondere: "Suppeditat quidem unde rapiamus".

Dieser *Apologus* erschöpft sich nicht in der Aussage, dass 'niente può essere creato dal nulla'.<sup>19</sup> Wirklich interessant wird er erst durch die Tatsache, dass die *folles* ihren *spiritus* ja der *officina* selbst entnehmen: diese erkennt ihren eigenen Reichtum an Luft. Hier wie in vielen anderen Fällen geht es Alberti mindestens ebenso sehr darum, den Mangel an (Selbst-)Erkenntnis seiner Protagonisten bloßzustellen, wie darum, eine bestimmte Einsicht kundzutun.<sup>20</sup> Der entscheidende Gedankenschritt bleibt dabei, was ebenfalls zahlreiche Parallelen hat, unausgesprochen und ist vom Leser zu ergänzen.<sup>21</sup>

### *Apologus 10*

Invidus a se primo inventum sinu suo contendo ignem, omnes latere optabat; at ignis, ustis vestibus, in medium excidit.

Wie Testi Massetani (p. 89) erklärt, zeigt der *Apologus*, dass 'l'invidia nuoce realmente solo all'invidioso'.<sup>22</sup> Sein auffälligster Aspekt ist dabei der Umstand, dass der Missgünstige, der sonst immer nur anderer Leute Errungenschaften kritisiert (*Apol.* 99 und 100; vgl. auch Albertis als *invidi* charakterisierte Leser im einleitenden Brief des Äsop an diesen und *invidia* in *Apol.* 93), selbst als *πρώτος εὐρετής* auftritt. Alberti experimentiert hier mit einem Fabeltyp, der, wenn auch selten, bereits in der antiken Tradition vorkommt, nämlich mit der aitiologischen Erzählung aus der Urgeschichte der Menschheit (vgl. etwa Call., *Iamb.*, 2; Babr., 1,

<sup>19</sup> Testi Massetani, 'Ricerche sugli "Apologhi"', 82.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. unter den hier besprochenen Beispielen *Apol.* 16, 18, 22, 28, 30, 34, 57, 71, 76; einen Lernprozess macht der Amboss in *Apol.* 1 durch. Dass der Kampf gegen Unkenntnis und Verblendung generell zu Albertis zentralen Anliegen gehört, zeigen etwa zwei der *Sentenze Pitagoriche* (Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, II, 299, ll. 22-23 und 300, ll. 23-24): 'Detestabile morbo la ignoranza'; 'Insomma, persino col ferro e col fuoco caccia e separa (...) dall'animo la ignoranza.'

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. unter den hier diskutierten Stücken *Apol.* 7, 16, 22, 30, 34, 35, 37, 41, 57, 71, 76, 89, 92.

<sup>22</sup> Ob sie auch Recht hat, wenn sie fortfährt, '(...) poiché turba la sua quiete interiore', ist nicht so sicher. Die *Apologi* enthalten, soweit ich sehe, keine vergleichbaren allegorischen Darstellungen psychischer Vorgänge.



prol.; Aesop., *fab.*, 105 Perry): Er entwirft ein Gegenaition zum Feuerraub des Prometheus (zu diesem als Fabelgestalt vgl. Aesop., *fab.*, 100 Perry). Während der mythische Philanthrop das Feuer sogar gegen den Willen der Götter an die Menschen weitergibt und dafür von diesen bestraft wird (Hes., *th.*, 565-567; 614-616; *op.*, 50-52), möchte der Missgünstige es für sich behalten, was ebenfalls, aber auf natürliche Weise, Strafe nach sich zieht. Für die Menschheit ist das Ergebnis dasselbe.

### **Apologus 16**

Sol ex calice vitreo pleno aqua irim in ara pinxerat: id sibi opus aqua ad gloriam adscribebat. Calix contra: "Ni perlucidus essem atque nitidissimus — inquit — non extaret". Haec audiens ara secum ipsa tacita, gloriam sibi illam inherere plurimam gaudebat.

Es ist richtig, dass dieser *Apologus* 'una aperta condanna della presunzione degli uomini'<sup>23</sup> ausdrückt, doch tut er dies in bemerkenswert subtiler Weise. Beim ersten Lesen scheint sein Held der Altar zu sein: Er ist im gleichen Maß wie Glas und Wasser an der Hervorbringung des 'Regenbogens' beteiligt, doch während diese den Ruhm hierfür lauthals für sich beanspruchen, sieht er ein, dass er das nicht nötig hat, und kann den Umstand, dass das Farbspektrum an ihm sichtbar wird, für sich selbst sprechen lassen. Hinter dieser vordergründigen Pointe liegt jedoch eine zweite verborgen: In Wirklichkeit täuscht sich auch der Altar, wenn er meint, die *gloria* sei mit seiner Person verbunden. Die eigentliche Schöpferin der *iris* ist nämlich die nur in der Exposition kurz erwähnte Sonne: 'Sol (...) pinxerat'. Sie bedient sich des Bechers, des Wassers und des Altars lediglich als ihrer Werkzeuge und ist über deren Gezänk zu erhaben, um es auch nur zu kommentieren. Dass der Ruhm großer (Kunst-) Werke nicht von ihrem eigentlichen Urheber, sondern von untergeordneten Instanzen beansprucht wird, ist in ähnlicher Form auch das Thema von *Apol.* 22 und 30. Zur Erhabenheit der Sonne über alles Irdische vgl. *Apol.* 54, zur Idee einer 'natürlichen' Malerei *Apol.* 83 und das kurz vor den *Apologi* entstandene *Della pittura / De pictura*, z.B. Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, III, 50, l. 24 und 51, l. 28.

Was den Text betrifft, dürfte *plurimam* durch Verschreibung des von O bewahrten *plurimum* entstanden sein.

<sup>23</sup> Testi Massetani, 'Ricerche sugli "Apologhi"', 82.

## Apologus 18

Fistula pulveribus obruta: "Nos — inquit — poetae satiri non canimus".

Testi Massetanis *obruta*, das alle nachfolgenden Herausgeber übernehmen, ist die Lesart von β. Testi Massetani vermutet, Alberti habe das in **RNCOS**t stehende *obturata* in der Endfassung durch *obruta* ersetzt, 'per rendere più pungente l'ironia' (p. 115). In Wirklichkeit ist *obruta* eine banalisierende Verschreibung, *obturata* die *lectio difficilior* und inhaltlich das perfekte Verb: *obturo* wird einerseits gerne im Sinne von '(einen Mund) zum Verstummen bringen' verwendet, andererseits kann es sich auf das Verstopfen bzw. Verschließen unbelebter hohler Gegenstände beziehen.<sup>24</sup> Hier kommen beide Aspekte zum Tragen.<sup>25</sup>

Der wie ein Sprichwort wirkende Satz der Panflöte scheint von Alberti selbst geprägt, vielleicht in sachlichem Anschluss an Hor., *epist.*, 2, 2, 51-54:

paupertas impulit audax,  
ut versus facerem; sed quod non desit habentem,  
quae poterunt umquam satis expurgare cicutae,  
ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?<sup>26</sup>

Das schlichte Hirteninstrument erhebt sich mit dieser Aussage nicht nur über seinen Stand, indem es sich unter die Dichter zählt, sondern täuscht sich v.a. über seine lange Vernachlässigung hinweg, indem es sich der Illusion hingibt, sein Schweigen sei selbstgewählt; es habe es nicht nötig zu musizieren, da es vom Staub satt sei. Testi Massetanis (pp. 90-91, 115) Annahme, Alberti attackiere im Bild der *fistula* seine Humanistenkollegen wegen ihrer übergroßen *eruditio* und mangelnden Originalität, geht am Text vorbei.

## Apologus 22

Imperator sagittam, qua rex hostium ictus ceciderat, quam honorificentissime in templo collocarat. Ingemuit arcus quod, qui facinoris maxima fuisset causa, inglorius praeteriretur.

<sup>24</sup> *ThlL*, IX, 2, 303, 52-69; 304, 65-77; 305, 3-11.

<sup>25</sup> Übrigens verwendet Alberti auch gerne das italienische Derivat des Verbs, *obturare* oder *otturare*, so z.B. in der *Deifira* und in einem Brief an Matteo de' Pasti (Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, III, 237, l. 35 und 292).

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. auch Pers., *prol.*, 8-14. Zu Alberti als Präger von Sentenzen vgl. etwa die *Villa* und die *Sentenze Pitagoriche* (Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, I, 359-363 und II, 299-300).

Dieser *Apologus* entspricht in seiner gedanklichen Struktur *Apol.* 16, mit dem Unterschied, dass hier statt vier drei 'Personen' beteiligt sind, von denen die wichtigste gar nicht genannt wird: in Wirklichkeit sollte weder Pfeil noch Bogen<sup>27</sup>, sondern nur der Schütze geehrt werden. Ein uneinsichtiger Bogen wird nochmals in *Apol.* 76 begegnen.

### *Apologus* 28

Fuligo et cinis, fumo abeunte: "Heus frater — dicebant — nos relinques miseris!". His dixit fumus: "Quid mihi vobiscum negotii est? Vos tardae inertes atque inter vos minime convenientes torpescitis; ego coelum peto".

Marsh kommentiert: 'Alberti's heaven-bound smoke recalls the classical notion of sacrificial aromas (e.g., Homer, *Iliad* 1.317), rather than the biblical image of smoke as empty evanescence.' In eine ähnliche Richtung geht bereits Testi Massetani (pp. 86 und 91), die in dem *Apologus* eine Demonstration der 'differenze irriducibili tra gli esseri' sieht und den Rauch als Bild für Albertis eigenen Ehrgeiz versteht.<sup>28</sup> Doch man sollte die Vorstellung, die dieser von sich hat, nicht unbesehen übernehmen. Alberti unterläuft gerne den in der Fabeldichtung verbreiteten Brauch, die abschließenden Worte (oder Gedanken) einer Person als Ersatz für eine auktoriale Moral zu verwenden, und setzt sie stattdessen häufig dazu ein, die fehlende Selbsterkenntnis des Betreffenden oder seinen Mangel an Einsicht in die eigene Lage zu dekuivieren (vgl. zu *Apol.* 16, 18, 22, 30, 57, 76, 83). Die stolzen Worte des himmelwärts Entschwindenden kontrastieren mit den Assoziationen, die sich in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit an den Rauch knüpfen; vgl. neben dem bekannten 'biblical image' Sprichwörter wie 'Fume cum plus munte en haut, plus descrest e plus tost se faut'.<sup>29</sup> Auch Alberti selbst verwendet gerne Ausdrücke wie 'ire in fummo' im Sinne von 'gänzlich zunichte werden' (vgl. z.B. 'Della famiglia', Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, I, 143, ll. 21-22 und 248, l. 14). Ein solches Schicksal dürfte auch den Rauch in diesem *Apologus* erwarten.

Hinsichtlich der Textgestalt bieten sich zwei kleine Änderungen an: Erstens sind die Worte des Rußes und der Asche wahrscheinlich eher als vorwurfsvolle Frage denn als Ausruf zu verstehen: 'Wirst du uns wirk-

<sup>27</sup> Diesen favorisiert Testi Massetani, 'Ricerche sugli "Apologhi"', 82.

<sup>28</sup> Was das Stück mit 'pesantezza saturnina' (Rinaldi, "*Melancholia Christiana*", p. 55) zu tun haben soll, ist nicht einsichtig.

<sup>29</sup> *TPMA*, IX, 210 (Nr. 108).

lich in unserem Elend zurücklassen?’ Zweitens ist kaum verständlich, weshalb die beiden nach Ansicht des Rauchs nicht zusammenpassen, sind sie doch beide gleichermaßen *tardae atque inertes*. Man sollte deshalb *minime*, obwohl einhellig überliefert, durch ein sarkastisches *nimie* ersetzen.<sup>30</sup>

### ***Apologus 29***

Samium vas proiectum ex pavimento abacos aureos atque argenteos respectans: “At — inquit — vester nonnumquam fui consocius!”. Respondere: “Quidni et eris quidem, si rhodium aut falerum vinum attuleris”.

Wie Marsh bemerkt, galten Töpferwaren aus Samos als leicht zerbrechlich (Plaut., *Bacch.*, 202; *Men.*, 178). Dies würde nahe legen, dass das Gefäß bereits zerbrochen ist. Die Antwort der Anrichtetische wäre dann ausgesprochen zynisch. (Sie ist übrigens, da *quidni* keinen einfachen Aussagesatz einleiten kann, wie folgt zu interpungieren: *Quidni? Et eris quidem...*, ‘Natürlich! Und das wirst du auch bestimmt wieder...’).<sup>31</sup> Eine alternative, etwas harmlosere Lesart ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass samische Töpferei auch als billige Massenware bekannt war (Plaut., *Capt.*, 289-292; *Stich.*, 693-694; Tib., 2, 3, 47-48). Die goldenen und silbernen Tische könnten also auch einfach darauf anspielen, dass das *Samium vas*, obwohl noch heil, im Gegensatz zu ihnen selbst an und für sich wertlos ist. Wert und Ehre kommen ihm nur aufgrund seines Inhalts zu; sowohl der bekannte Falerner als auch rhodischer Wein (Verg., *georg.*, 2, 101-102; Gell., 13, 5, 7) galten ja als ausgezeichnete Sorten.<sup>32</sup>

### ***Apologus 30***

Cyprestes, horologii inventor, quom in rota nimium quemdam dentem castigaret atque rogaret, quid ita contumax inhaesisset totiusque operis cursum

<sup>30</sup> Die Form *nimie* ist seit der Spätantike gebräuchlich. In *Apol.* 30 verschreibt C analog *nimum* zu *minimum*.

<sup>31</sup> In diesem Sinne übersetzt bereits Laurens, ohne jedoch die Interpunktion des lateinischen Textes anzupassen.

<sup>32</sup> Pace Testi Massetani, ‘Ricerche sugli “Apologhi”’, 104, impliziert keine der beiden Lesarten eine Reflexion über ‘l’inconstanza e volubilità della sorte’ oder eine Verurteilung von ‘l’ingratitude e la volubilità degli uomini’. Wertschätzung bzw. Verachtung des *Samium vas* folgen ja nachvollziehbaren Kriterien.

detinuisset, respondit: “Ne iners pondus perpendiculi tantarum sibi rerum gloriam vindicaret”.

Laut Testi Massetani (p. 81), lehrt dieser *Apologus*, dass ‘il mondo è come un orologio: tutti gli elementi concorrono a formare quel complesso armonico in cui anche l’elemento più trascurabile ha un’importanza’. Die Allegorese der Uhr als Welt ist willkürlich, und es ist schwer verständlich, weshalb unter diesen Umständen die ‘elementi’ miteinander um den Ruhm streiten sollten. Tatsächlich kehrt hier in leichter Variation die gedankliche Struktur von *Apol.* 16 und 22 wieder. Der vorstehende Zahn, der das Gewicht als Konkurrenten um die mit dem Uhrwerk verbundene *gloria* betrachtet, übersieht, dass diese von Rechts wegen ausschließlich dem Uhrmacher zukommt (dessen Name am Beginn des Textes steht wie *Sol* in *Apol.* 16).

In grammatischer Hinsicht wäre in Cyprestes’ Antwort, wenn es sich bei dieser wirklich um direkte Rede handelte, statt des Konjunktivs des Imperfekts der Präsenskonjunktiv zu erwarten. Alberti respektiert den klassischen Tempusgebrauch hierfür gut genug (vgl. etwa *Apol.* 9: ‘... respondit: “Ut dilacerem atque radicitus convellam”’).<sup>33</sup> Man sollte also die Anführungszeichen streichen: die Antwort wird analog zur Frage in *oratio obliqua* wiedergegeben, wie sie auch sonst gelegentlich den Abschluss eines *Apologus* bildet (vgl. *Apol.* 22, 43, 90, 97).

### ***Apologus* 31**

Quom argonauta, salvis rebus, maximo cum lucro in portum redisset, Neptuneo, percommode habita navigatione, insigne aliquid dedicare constituerat. Ea re hinc malus navis, hinc ancorae, illinc rudentes, ut se eo pacto honestaret, petebant: “At — inquit argonauta — temonem exponere expedit, quod minoris constet”.

Dieser *Apologus*, der, wie Testi Massetani (pp. 88-89) bemerkt, ‘l’avidità umana’ vor Augen führt, ist insofern interessant, als er sich wesentlich pointierter liest, wenn man ihn zu einem anderen Stück der Sammlung in Beziehung setzt. In *Apol.* 15 hat sich ein *temo*, eine Ruderpinne, gegen alle anderen Ruder eines Schiffs durchgesetzt und so seine Aus-

<sup>33</sup> In ‘Tandem, cum utrisque conditio dura videatur, dixit chorda’ (*Apol.* 76) kann man *videatur* als eine Art historisches Präsens verstehen, das den Höhepunkt der Auseinandersetzung markiert.

nahmestellung unter dem Schiffszubehör bewiesen. Wenn man nun hier liest, dass der Seefahrer *insigne aliquid* opfern will und sich gegen die übrigen Gerätschaften für den *temo* entscheidet, denkt man zuerst, er tue dies in Anerkennung dieser herausragenden Bedeutung. Die letzten drei Worte, die einen darüber aufklären, dass seiner Entscheidung schlicht Geiz zu Grunde liegt, stellen unter diesen Umständen ein pointiertes ἀπροσδόκητον dar.

Der Text ist an einer Stelle anders zu gestalten: Da ‘percommode habita navigatione’ nach ‘salvis rebus’ eine unschöne syntaktische (*ablativus absolutus*) und inhaltliche Doppelung ergibt, schreibt man besser mit **RNOC** ‘pro commode habita navigatione’. Den Konjunktiv *constet* sollte man dagegen nicht mit **O** zu *constat* normieren, da er nach kausalem *quod*, wohl in Analogie zu kausalen *cum*-Sätzen, seit der Spätantike begegnet.<sup>34</sup> Beim Ausdruck *argonauta* für *nauta* scheint es sich um eine albertische Idiosynkrasie zu handeln; vgl. *Anuli*.<sup>35</sup> Beruht sie vielleicht auf einem Missverständnis von Mart., 3, 67, 10: ‘non nautas puto vos, sed Argonautas’?

### **Apologus 34**

Corylus ab olea rogatus quandone esset fructus editurus qui bruma floresceret, respondit: “Quom dabitur tempus”.

Eher als von der in der Natur herrschenden Harmonie und Ordnung (so Testi Massetani, p. 84) handelt dieses Stück von Personen, die sich über die exzentrischen Gewohnheiten ihrer Umwelt mokieren, ohne sich der eigenen bewusst zu sein. Der Hasel blüht von Februar bis April, wobei sich die Blütenstände schon im vorhergehenden Herbst bilden, seine Nüsse reifen im August und September. Der Ölbaum blüht zwischen April und Juni und fruchtet von Oktober bis März, d.h. den ganzen Winter über. Der Hasel wird also nicht nur, wie er selbst andeutet, den Spott des Ölbaums über seine frühe Blüte dadurch widerlegen, dass er das Wichtigere, die Frucht, zu einer ganz normalen Zeit hervorbringt, sondern sich dann v.a. seinerseits über die extrem späte Frucht seines Gegenüber

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. Manu Leumann – Johann Baptist Hofmann – Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2, 2 (München: Beck, 1965-1977), II (1965), 575. In *Apol.* 100 (s.u.) setzt Alberti auch nach faktischem *quod* Konjunktiv.

<sup>35</sup> Bacchelli – D’Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 780, l. 227.

lustig machen können. Thematisch und gedanklich verwandt ist *Apol.* 37 (s.u.).

Dass Alberti *corylus* als Maskulinum behandelt, ist nichts Ungewöhnliches: Baumnamen auf *-us* ändern im Mittellateinischen häufig ihr Geschlecht.<sup>36</sup> Testi Massetani (p. 116) lehnt die Normierung des Textes durch *St* zu Recht ab.

### *Apologus 35*

Agaso: “Quidnam — inquit —, asine, non aequae asinos alios atque homines impetis?”. “Non illi quidem caederent”, respondit.

Die Antwort des Esels wird meist indikativisch übersetzt: ‘Quelli non hanno intenzione di battermi’ (Contarino), ‘Quelli non mi vogliono bastonare’ (Ciccuto), ‘Donkeys don’t beat me’ (Marsh). Testi Massetani (p. 92) und Laurens machen sich zwar die im Vergleich zum Lateinischen größere Freiheit des Modusgebrauchs in den modernen Sprachen zunutze, um den Konjunktiv beizubehalten (‘perché neppure essi lo farebbero’; ‘C’est qu’eux ne me battraient pas’), verstehen dabei jedoch *caederent* trotzdem als Realis. Das ist grammatikalisch unmöglich und verfälscht die Pointe des *Apologus*: nach dieser Lesart sagt dem Esel sein Gefühl für Recht und Billigkeit, dass er niemanden attackieren soll, der ihm nichts zuleide getan hat. Nimmt man jedoch, woran kein Weg vorbeiführt, den Irrealis ernst, so kann man seine Antwort nur folgendermaßen verstehen: ‘[Wenn ich das täte,] würden jene mich nicht [nur, wie das die Menschen tun,] schlagen [, sondern mich, was wirklich schmerzhaft wäre, ihrerseits treten.]’ Das gegen Schläge sprichwörtlich unempfindliche Tier<sup>37</sup> lässt sich also mitnichten von seinem Gerechtigkeitssinn, sondern vielmehr von rein egoistischen Erwägungen leiten.

### *Apologus 37*

Fungus: “Heus — dixit — o iunipere, audio multos te iam soles vidisse et usque acerbis baccas habes. Quandone igitur maturescent?”. “O dulcissime

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2, 5 (München: Beck, 1996-2004), IV (1998), 150.

<sup>37</sup> Vgl. *TPMA*, III, 71 (Nr. 234-239) und 73 (Nr. 255-256).

— inquit iuniperus — tardus sum, iccirco post quadriduum responsum dabo”.

Testi Massetani (p. 84) versteht diesen *Apologus* im selben Sinne wie *Apol.* 34, und tatsächlich sind die beiden Stücke, wie schon angedeutet, eng verwandt. Auch hier mokiert sich eine Pflanze unvorsichtigerweise über die Zeit, zu der eine andere ihre Früchte hervorbringt, wenn auch anders als dort die schnelle über die langsame, und auch hier wird sie implizit, aber schlagend widerlegt. Der Wacholder — dessen Beerenzapfen bis zur Reife zwei bis drei Jahre benötigen und dabei immer herb bleiben — akzeptiert den Vorwurf der Langsamkeit, den ihm der sprichwörtlich dumme und ephemere Pilz macht, nur zum Schein.<sup>38</sup> In Wirklichkeit verweist er, indem er sich für die Antwort Bedenkzeit ausbittet, seinen Kontrahenten auf dessen eigene Kurzlebigkeit (die dieser mit seinem *audio*, ohne es zu merken, bereits selbst eingestanden hat): in vier Tagen wird der Pilz schon vertrocknet oder verfault sein. So oder ähnlich scheint bereits Contarino den Text zu verstehen.<sup>39</sup>

Zu *iuniperus* als Maskulinum vgl. *Apol.* 34.

### ***Apologus* 41**

In corona Hadriani adamas et carbunculus, omnium pretiosissimi lapides, apud unionem constitui recusarunt, quod illius amplitudo sibi esset dignitatis speciem detractura. Data iccirco potestate ut quo vellent in coronae gradu residerent, inter minores atque viliores, tota corona lustrata, requieverunt.

Diamant und Rubin wählen ihren Platz nach einem ähnlichen Prinzip wie Caesar, der lieber erster in einem Alpendorf als zweiter in Rom sein wollte (Plut., *vita Caes.*, 11, 2). Pace Testi Massetani (p. 97) ist daran vorderhand nichts auszusetzen. Doch welcher Hadrian und welche *corona* sind gemeint? Marsh, der offenbar keinen geeigneten Kandidaten gefunden hat, erklärt das einhellig überlieferte *Hadriani* für ‘an obvious lapsus that makes no sense’ und emendiert es zu *Ariadnae*. Das hilft nicht weiter: zwar ist Ariadnes Krone als Sternbild berühmt geworden, doch weist dieses nur einen einzigen besonders hellen Stern auf; Sterne, die Diamant und Rubin

<sup>38</sup> Zur Dummheit des Pilzes vgl. Plaut., *Bacch.*, 283 und 1088 sowie August Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890), p. 150, zu seiner Kurzlebigkeit *TPMA*, IX, 138 (Nr. 1).

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. Contarino, *Alberti, ‘Apologhi’ et ‘Elogi’*, p. 30 und *Alberti moralista*, p. 176.



entsprechen könnten, fehlen. Auch die mythographische Tradition bietet nichts, was Marshs Emendation stützen könnte. Man sollte deshalb die Überlieferung akzeptieren und davon ausgehen, dass die Identität des genannten Hadrian als Rätsel gedacht ist, dessen Auflösung für das Verständnis des *Apologus* von Bedeutung sein könnte. Tut man das, so hat man die Wahl zwischen dem römischen Kaiser und fünf Päpsten dieses Namens sowie ihren Kronen und Tiaren (diese bzw. die in sie eingearbeiteten Kronen konnten ebenfalls als *coronae* bezeichnet werden).<sup>40</sup> Der Kaiser<sup>41</sup> und die Hadriane I.-IV. erweisen sich als unergiebig. Hadrian V. dagegen trägt auf seinem bekannten Grabmal in San Francesco zu Viterbo eine Tiara mit einer 'diademartige[n], zacken- und blütenlose[n] Krone, auf der Edelsteine im Relief angedeutet sind.' Leider sind diese Steine nicht genauer zu bestimmen, doch die Tatsache, dass der Kronreif vorne in der Mitte eine kreisrunde Ausnehmung aufweist, lässt vermuten, dass dort eine Perle angedeutet werden sollte.<sup>42</sup> Nimmt man an, dass Alberti an diese *corona* gedacht hat<sup>43</sup>, so erhält der *Apologus* eine präzise Pointe. Zwar tadelt er, wie schon gesagt, nicht die Wahl, welche Rubin und Diamant treffen, er entlarvt jedoch, auf einer grundsätzlicheren Ebene ansetzend, die Nichtigkeit ihrer Überlegungen zum Thema *dignitatis species* überhaupt: Hadrian V. wurde am 11. Juli 1276 zum Papst gewählt, verstarb aber schon am 18. August desselben Jahres, vor Weihe und Krönung.

#### *Apologus 44*

Vulpes dum a laqueo, qui se impeditam et artissime obligatam detinebat, summis precibus frustra orasset uti se solutam et missam faceret, tandem sibi id, re integra, licere negantem laqueum dentibus rupit. "O me — inquit laqueus — infelicem, qui, animi mei flexibilitate adductus, ita orari me

<sup>40</sup> Zur Tiara im Mittelalter vgl. generell Gerhart Burian Ladner, 'Der Ursprung und die mittelalterliche Entwicklung der päpstlichen Tiara', in *Tainia. Roland Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag*, hg. von Herbert Adolph Cahn und Erika Simon (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1980), pp. 449-481.

<sup>41</sup> An diesen denkt etwa Contarino, *Alberti moralista*, p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> Vgl. Gerhart Burian Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und Mittelalters*, Monumenti di antichità cristiana, ser. 2, 4, 3 Bde. (Vatikan Stadt: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1941-1984), II (1970), 185-194 (das Zitat p. 186), Tafeln XXXVIII und XXXIX.

<sup>43</sup> Dass er, der seit 1432 eine Stelle als päpstlicher *abbreviator* innehatte, einmal Viterbo, das im 13. Jh. Sitz des Heiligen Stuhls gewesen war und bis 1871 Bestandteil des Kirchenstaats blieb, besucht und dabei Hadrians Grabmal gesehen hat, ist zwar nicht belegt, aber *a priori* plausibel.

passus sum, ut et durum et iniustum esse me mihi necessitas fuerit. Itaque obsequii nostri praemium interitus est”.

Wie ist der Kommentar des Stricks zu verstehen? Ein Teil seiner Aussage leuchtet ein: Indem er den Fuchs hat sprechen lassen, ihm seine Bitte aber abgeschlagen hat, war er zwangsläufig (*necessitas*) *et durus* dem Fuchs gegenüber *et iniustus mihi*, ungerecht gegen sich selbst (da die Attacke des Fuchses die vorhersehbare Konsequenz aus dem abschlägigen Bescheid war).<sup>44</sup> Schwer begreiflich ist dagegen zunächst, weshalb er, der sich dem Begehren des Fuchses doch standhaft widersetzt hat, sich *animi flexibilitas* und *obsequium* vorwirft. Am besten lassen sich diese Ausdrücke verstehen, wenn man sie zu ‘orari me passus sum’ in Beziehung setzt. Diese Phrase impliziert, dass der Strick neben der sofortigen Freilassung und dem Anhören des Fuchses noch eine dritte Handlungsalternative gehabt hätte. Diese könnte entweder darin bestanden haben, den Fuchs sofort zu erwürgen, oder darin, ihm die Kehle so weit zuzuschnüren, dass er nicht mehr hätte sprechen und beißen können. Beides wären härtere Lösungen gewesen als die tatsächlich gewählte, so dass die Selbstvorwürfe des Stricks verständlich werden. Dass er eher an die zweite als an die erste denkt, ist deshalb anzunehmen, weil das Erdrosseln des Fuchses *re integra*, während sein Fall noch nicht entschieden war<sup>45</sup>, ebenso ungerecht gewesen wäre wie seine Freilassung. Hätte der Strick diese erste Möglichkeit im Auge, so würde er sich wohl statt *flexibilitas* und *obsequium* eher *iustitia* oder *aequitas* vorwerfen.

*Dum* wird von **R** zu *cum* normiert, doch Alberti verwendet die Konjunktion in der Bedeutung ‘nachdem’ und mit Konjunktiv Plusquamperfekt auch in *Apol.* 2 und 94.<sup>46</sup>

## ***Apologus* 51**

Capra, tonstrinam tabernam ingressa, gallo, ut barbam tondi sineret, persuadebat. “In tua hoc — inquit gallus — tondenda barba, quod sine periculo fiet, exerceto”.

<sup>44</sup> Ungefähr in diesem Sinne scheint schon Testi Massetani, ‘Ricerche sugli “Apologhi”’, 96, den Text zu verstehen, wenn sie den Strick als ‘esempio come non si debba accettare la discussione col più forte’ bezeichnet. Ihre These, Alberti demonstriere hier anhand der Unwandelbarkeit der Natur von Fuchs und Strick seine ‘visione deterministica della realtà’ (p. 84), hilft dagegen nicht weiter.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. *OLD*, s.v. *integer*, 2a. Die Übersetzer geben den Ausdruck fälschlich im Sinne von ‘ohne sich selbst zu schaden’ wieder.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. weiters *MW*, III, 1037, 54-63.

Die Pointe dieses Stückleins beruht, was man bisher nicht bemerkt oder zumindest nicht klar ausgesprochen hat, auf der Mehrdeutigkeit von *barba*. Die *barba* eines Hahns zu scheren, kann deshalb nicht unblutig ausgehen, weil es sich dabei nicht um einen wirklichen Bart, sondern um eine Wamme handelt (*OLD*, s.v. 'barba', 2). Weshalb die Ziege, statt an ihren eigenen langen Bart zu denken, auf diese Idee kommt, ist unklar. Entweder beruht ihr Angebot auf schierer Dummheit und Unerfahrenheit (in diesem Fall müsste *ingressa* hier wohl 'als Lehrling eingetreten' bedeuten) oder sie will sich, wie Testi Massetani (p. 94) annimmt, auf Kosten des Hahns einen bösen Streich erlauben.

*Tondi* wird von **R** zu Unrecht zu *tonderi* korrigiert: *tondere* wurde im Mittelalter häufig als Verb der 3. Konjugation behandelt.<sup>47</sup>

### *Apologus 57*

Simia carbonem tractans: "O te — inquit — miserum quem messes ex nemore lucidissimum, uti audio, pertimue, ut nunc es ater atque torpens!".  
 "Quin immo — inquit carbo — iam sum felix, nam illa ignis pestis consumpsisset me ni abiecissem".

'Ex nemore lucidissimum' ließe sich nur überaus gezwungen als 'leuchtendstes aller Holzstücke, die aus dem Wald kommen' verstehen. Wie das schon Laurens tut, ist mit **RVNCOST** 'et nemora lucidissimum' zu schreiben: Kornfelder und Wälder fürchteten gleichermaßen die Glut der Kohle. Im Übrigen scheint der Leser angehalten, über deren Antwort hinauszudenken. Nicht nur der Affe hat Unrecht, auch sie täuscht sich und freut sich zu früh: sie hat das Feuer nicht aus eigener Kraft abgeschüttelt (*abiecissem*) — und wird noch verbrannt werden.

### *Apologus 60*

"Volebam quidem apud vos divertere — inquit papilio — sed dicite, quidnam periculi imminet, quod vos video trementes?". Dixere rogata arundinum folia: "Tu proinde cogita ut recte nobiscum agi posse speremus, quandoquidem haec, quam colimus, quom vacua sensus est, tum in omnem partem ad casum nutat".

Die Wahl eines Schmetterlings als Gesprächspartner der Schilfblätter ist überraschend, da Schmetterlinge in der Regel kein Schilf anfliegen und

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV (1998), 178.

mit der Alberti noch unbekannten Ausnahme von Phaedr., *app.*, 31 in der älteren Fabeltradition nicht vorkommen. Sie dürfte mit Albertis Wunsch zu erklären sein, der Klage der Blätter über ihre Abhängigkeit von dem gedankenlosen, schwankenden Schilfrohr<sup>48</sup> eine zusätzliche Spitze zu verleihen, die sich gegen den Frager selbst richtet. Auch der Schmetterling galt nämlich vielfach als Symbol der Torheit und Flatterhaftigkeit.<sup>49</sup> In der genannten Phaedrusfabel klagt er: ‘en cassa levitas putris et volo cinis’ (*app.*, 31, 6). In Albertis *Cynicus*<sup>50</sup> werden die Seelen schlechter Dichter zur Strafe für ihre wahllose Klassikerimitation als Schmetterlinge reinkarniert — eine Vorstellung, die mit der hier anzunehmenden zumindest verwandt ist. Leonardo da Vinci, der Albertis *Apologi*, wie erwähnt, kennt und gelegentlich imitiert, hat das vorliegende Stück vielleicht im hier skizzierten Sinn verstanden und sich von ihm dazu anregen lassen, zum Protagonisten seiner *favola* 25<sup>51</sup> ‘il vano e vagabondo parpaglione’ zu machen.

### ***Apologus 71***

Amans summopere desiderabat atque multis precibus exposcebat, ut aliquis ex ramusculis lauri qui postes templi ornabant sibi pro corona adesset. Negarunt illi se dignos esse qui mortalibus gratificarentur; postridie vero, quom in manipulum redacti verrendo pavimento dehonestarentur, poenituit illiberalitatis hesternae.

Testi Massetani (p. 88) hält zu Recht fest, dass Alberti hier die verderblichen Folgen von Hochmut und Egoismus demonstriert. Doch wozu benötigt der Liebende überhaupt einen Lorbeerkranz? Vermutlich möchte er seine Geliebte damit an die schwerwiegenden Folgen verschmähter Liebe erinnern, wie sie der in Ovids *Metamorphosen* (1, 452-567) erzählte Mythos von Apollo und Daphne exemplifiziert.<sup>52</sup> Die Lorbeerzweige

<sup>48</sup> Vgl. Testi Massetani, ‘Ricerche sugli “Apologhi”’, 95.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, 2 Bde. (Leipzig: Cramer, 1909-1913), II, 441-442.

<sup>50</sup> Bacchelli – D’Ascia, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 278, ll. 191-196.

<sup>51</sup> Marsh, *Renaissance Fables*, p. 296.

<sup>52</sup> Dass Alberti den genannten Passus präsent hat, legt auch ein Detail seiner Erzählung nahe: wenn die Zweige die *postes* eines Tempels zieren, so erinnert dies an *met.*, 1, 562, wo der Lorbeer die *postes* des Kaiserpalasts schmückt. Eine allgemeinere Assoziation zwischen Lorbeer und Erotik besteht schon durch den *poeta laureatus* Petrarca und seine Laura. Sie erklärt vielleicht das gelegentliche Auftauchen des Lorbeers in erotischem

ihrerseits scheinen sich an diese Geschichte — ihre eigene Vorgeschichte — auf die falsche Weise zu erinnern: Sie denken an Apollo, dem sie heilig sind, nicht als Liebenden, sondern als Gott und finden deshalb, einem Menschen gefällig zu sein, sei unter ihrer Würde. So weisen sie zum zweiten Mal einen *amans* ab und werden wieder degradiert: Daphne wurde aus einer Nymphe zu einem Baum, dessen Zweige enden nun als Besen.<sup>53</sup>

### *Apologus 75*

Quidam a rege, inspecto stemmate picto, quod esset regium, uti munificentia petiit uti vestem illam auream, qua esset indutus, mutuo concederet. "Hanc si detraxeris vestem — inquit pictura — iam nullus sum".

Die Grundaussage des Stücks ist klar: der *rex pictus* besteht nur aus seinem goldenen Kleid und besitzt keine eigentliche Substanz. (Wenn man will, kann man das auf reale Herrscher und deren Entouragen übertragen, die zwischen Sein und Schein nicht zu unterscheiden vermögen; vgl. Testi Massetani, p. 102). Probleme bereitet dagegen der Text. Die Handschriften divergieren: Statt 'rege, inspecto stemmate picto' schreiben **RNOst** 'rege picto', **C** 'rege in stragula picto'. **C** lässt auch das *uti* vor *munificentia* aus. *Inspecto* produziert einen überflüssigen, plumpen *ablativus absolutus* und dürfte letztlich aus Dittographie von *picto* entstanden sein. Dies lässt die Wahl zwischen 'rege picto', 'rege in stemmate picto' und 'rege in stragula picto'. Weder *in stemmate* noch *in stragula* wäre der Ausdruck, den ein Abschreiber zu einem bloßen *rege picto* hinzuergänzen würde; das schließt letzteres als Albertis Text aus. Doch auch von den beiden verbleibenden Lesarten kann kaum eine aus der anderen entstanden sein (eine banalisierende Verschreibung von *stemmate* bzw. *stragula* hätte wohl am ehesten *imagine* bzw. *tabula* ergeben). Hier dürfte es sich

Zusammenhang, so z.B. in Albertis Gedicht *Le chiome che io adorai* (Rime, 6, (Grayson, Leon Battista Alberti II, 8)) und in Marsilio Ficinos *Apologus de Apologo* (Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Marsilio Ficino, Opera omnia*, Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora, ser. 1, 7-10, 2 Bde. (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1959-1960), I, 847), wo *Apologus* unter einem Lorbeerbaum gezeugt wird.

<sup>53</sup> Insgesamt erinnert die Handlung des *Apologus* an den Schluss der *Corolle* (Bacchelli – D'Ascia, Leon Battista Alberti, p. 256, ll. 177-180; Lepidus dankt Laus): 'Nam et coronam dedisti, qua meum caput exornem, et ex herba coronam eiusmodi condonasti, ut cum exaruerit non mediocriter ad patulas tergendas valeat'. Interpretatorische Folgerungen lassen sich aus dieser Ähnlichkeit aber nicht ziehen.

für einmal tatsächlich um Autorvarianten handeln. Zu *in stemmate* könnte Alberti durch die bebilderten Stammbäume angeregt worden sein, die Plin., *nat.*, 35, 6 beschreibt: ‘*stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas*’. (Dass er das betreffende Pliniusbuch genau kannte, zeigt neben zahlreichen Reminiszenzen in *Della pittura / De pictura* z.B. auch *Apol.* 32, der auf *nat.*, 35, 66 basiert.)<sup>54</sup> Der Ausdruck *stragula*, in der Regel *vestis stragula*, bezeichnet eine meist kostbare Bettdecke. Diese Variante kompliziert und bereichert das Spiel mit der Illusion insofern, als in ihr die erste und die dritte der drei Ebenen Trägermaterial, Bild und Kleid gewissermaßen zusammenfallen: der Betrachter sieht eine *vestis* an einer Person auf einer *vestis (stragula)*. Zu *pingere* im Sinne von ‘Stoff bemalen, färben, besticken’ vgl. *Ov., met.*, 4, 398; *Ciris*, 31. *Uti munificentia* kann mit der Mehrzahl der Handschriften gehalten werden, doch Testi Massetani irreführende Zeichensetzung ist zu korrigieren: ‘*quod esset regium uti munificentia*’, ‘weil es königlich sei, Großzügigkeit walten zu lassen’.<sup>55</sup>

### *Apologus 76*

Arcus a chorda petebat ne alter alteri esset molestus, ut aut fieret longior, aut obrumperetur. Haec contra ex illo petebat ut aut fieret brevior, aut perfringeretur. Tandem, cum utrisque conditio dura videatur, dixit chorda: “Igitur tu viribus, ego nervis ius tuebimur”.

Worin besteht die Aussage dieses Stücks? Meist scheint man anzunehmen: darin, dass Bogen und Sehne, und so auch manche Menschen, eben zu ewiger Gegnerschaft verurteilt sind.<sup>56</sup> Das ist sicher die erste Bedeutungsebene, die sich dem Leser erschließt, doch angesichts der philosophischen und populärphilosophischen Assoziationen, die sich an die im Bogen herrschende Spannung knüpfen, dürfte sich der *Apologus* hierin nicht erschöpfen. Im Anschluss an diese Assoziationen liegt zum einen der Gedanke nahe, dass gerade die Gegenstrebigkeit von Bogen und Sehne eine höhere, dynamische Einheit verwirklicht, wie dies das berühmte Heraklitfragment 51 lehrt: ‘οὐ ξυνιάσιν ὁκῶς διαφερόμενον

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Martelli, ‘*Su due apologhi*’, 184.

<sup>55</sup> In diesem Sinne übersetzen bereits Contarino (‘*poiché dei re è la munificenza*’) und Ciccuto (‘*dato che la munificenza è dote regale*’), ohne jedoch die Interpunktion im Lateinischen anzupassen.

<sup>56</sup> Testi Massetani, ‘*Ricerche sugli “Apologhi”*’, 88.

ἔωυτῶι ὁμολογέει· παλίντροπος ἄρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης'.<sup>57</sup> Andererseits bietet sich eine pessimistischere Deutung an, die den zusätzlichen Vorzug hat, dass sie in typischer Manier auf der mangelnden Einsicht der Protagonisten beruht (s.o. zu *Apol.* 7; vgl. auch *Apol.* 22). Weder Bogen noch Sehne kommen nämlich auf die Idee, dass ihr Konflikt durch Entspannen des Bogens gelöst werden könnte. Dass das von Zeit zu Zeit geschehen muss, damit dieser brauchbar bleibt, ist indes eine sprichwörtliche Wahrheit.<sup>58</sup> So werden sich die beiden durch ihre eigene Beschränktheit zu Grunde richten.

Statt Testi Massetanis *obrumperetur* ist mit **RNCOS**t *abrumperetur* zu lesen: *obrumpo* ist äußerst selten und vielleicht an allen Stellen, wo es belegt ist, als Verderbnis von *abrumpo* bzw. *obruo* zu erklären (vgl. *ThlL*, IX, 2, 151, 6-11 und 32-33); in *Apol.* 57 verschreibt **O** analog *abiecisse* zu *obiecissem*. Zu *videatur* s.o. Anm. 33.

### *Apologus* 83

Piscis vehementer optabat arborem conscendere eoque desiderio in arbores pictas in fontis superficie prosiliebat, ilico pictae arbores dissipabantur. 'An vero tu — inquit arbores — istoc pacto insanis, quem etiam fictae arbores fugiant?'

Auf den ersten Blick erscheint der Fisch als Musterbeispiel für übertriebenen, zum Scheitern verurteilten Ehrgeiz.<sup>59</sup> Doch ganz so eindeutig ist die Sache nicht. Konkret stellen sich hinsichtlich der Bewertung seines Verhaltens zwei Fragen. Zum einen: Ist sein Ehrgeiz mit der Unfähigkeit verbunden, zwischen Bäumen und Spiegelbildern zu unterscheiden? Springt er nach den 'arbores pictas', die er für echte Bäume hält (so Testi Massetani, p. 82), oder nach den echten Bäumen selbst? Die Frage wäre nur dann, und zwar im Sinne der zweiten Alternative, zu beantworten,

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. Frank la Brasca, 'L'arc et la flèche (Apologi, XXII): la culture philosophique de Leon Battista Alberti', in *Leon Battista Alberti. Actes du congrès international de Paris*, hg. von Francesco Furlan u.a. (Turin – Paris: Nino Aragno – J. Vrin, 2000), pp. 173-211 (pp. 199-200 und 211, Anm. 125). Das Fragment ist breit überliefert und wird u.a. mehrfach in Plutarchs *Moralia* zitiert, die Alberti schon früh kennen lernte (vgl. Lucia Bertolini, 'Per la biblioteca greca dell'Alberti', in *Leon Battista Alberti. La biblioteca di un umanista*, pp. 101-103 (p. 102)).

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. Phaedr., 3, 14, 10; Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 36.

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. z.B. Contarino, *Alberti, 'Apologhi' et 'Elogi'*, p. 30 und *Alberti moralista*, p. 176.

wenn man annähme, dass Alberti sich die Situation ganz realistisch vorgestellt hat: denn von unterhalb der Wasseroberfläche kann der Fisch auf dieser gar keine gespiegelten Bäume sehen — das bleibt dem vorbehalten, der sie von oben betrachtet. Doch selbst wenn die erste Möglichkeit zuträfe, müsste das nicht zwangsläufig Verachtung für die Dummheit des Fisches, sondern könnte auch Bewunderung für die Fähigkeit der Natur implizieren, auf einer zweidimensionalen Fläche den täuschenden Eindruck von Dreidimensionalität zu erzeugen. Alberti würde damit ein zentrales Thema seines *Della pittura / De pictura* aufgreifen; diese Annahme gewinnt noch dadurch an Plausibilität, dass er dort mit dem Mythos von Narziss eine weitere Geschichte, in der es um eine lebensechte Spiegelung im Wasser geht, als Allegorie für die Anfänge der Malerei deutet<sup>60</sup> und hier die Sprache der Malerei verwendet (*pictas, pictae, fictae*).<sup>61</sup> Noch wichtiger ist die zweite Frage: Ist der Wunsch des Fisches tatsächlich so unrealistisch, wie es der Spott der Bäume — ‘Bist du wirklich so verrückt [zu meinen, du könntest uns erreichen], du, vor dem sogar falsche Bäume fliehen?’<sup>62</sup> — impliziert? Alberti kannte aus der klassischen Dichtung Sintflutschilderungen, wo Fische in Baumkronen umherschweben (Hor., *carm.*, 1, 2, 9; Ov., *met.*, 1, 296), und es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, dass gleich der folgende *Apologus* eine Überschwemmungsszene enthält, in der ein Wildbach Bäume und Sträucher mit sich führt. Die *Apologi* insgesamt bieten Beispiele sowohl für verblendete, selbstzerstörerische Ambition (z.B. *Apol.* 4, 5, 26; wohl auch 28) als auch für edlen Ehrgeiz, der scheinbar Unmögliches erreicht (*Apol.* 55, 93).<sup>63</sup>

### *Apologus* 89

Faber, fossor cloacarum atque magister pistrini ex transverso fori inter nobiles deambulando irridebantur. Tum istorum unus inquit: “Et quid est quod omnes rident?”. Respondit faber: “Quia tinctus es”. “At enim — inquit fossor — tincti omnes sumus”. “Nempe id quidem est, ut ais, — tum dixit magister pistrini — sed tu et tinctus es et vehementer foetes”.

<sup>60</sup> Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti*, III, 46, ll. 14-19 und 47, ll. 20-25.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 138 und 304-305.

<sup>62</sup> Die Übersetzer verkennen die elliptische Struktur des Satzes und geben ihn so wieder, als ob statt *quem* konsekutives *ut* stünde; in der Regel verwandeln sie ihn zudem aus einem Frage- in einen Aussagesatz.

<sup>63</sup> In *Apol.* 93 wird der Ehrgeiz wie im vorliegenden Beispiel von einer Instanz, die ihm ablehnend gegenübersteht, in einer rhetorischen Frage als Wahnsinn gebrandmarkt: ‘Etenim quid insanis?’.



Dieses Stück zeigt, wie man sich das eigene Elend erträglich machen kann, indem man sich über einen noch Elenderen erhebt. Indem Alberti offen lässt, von wem der erste Gesprächsbeitrag stammt, scheint er bewusst eine Leerstelle zu schaffen. Der Leser kann selbst zwischen dem *fossor cloacarum* und dem *magister pistrini* wählen und so zwei Varianten des Gesprächs rekonstruieren. Im ersten Fall würden sich Schmied und Müller gegen den *fossor* verbünden, um ihm zu zeigen, dass er noch unter ihnen steht. Die zweite Möglichkeit wäre noch zynischer: Der Schmied würde versuchen, den Müller allein als Gegenstand des Gelächters erscheinen zu lassen, der *fossor* ihn gegen diese Unterstellung mit dem Hinweis ‘*tincti omnes sumus*’ in Schutz nehmen — und dafür statt Dank die giftige Schlussbemerkung ernten. *Tinctus* bedeutet nicht einfach, wie die Übersetzer annehmen, ‘schmutzig’ (Contarino und Ciccuto: ‘sporco’, Laurens: ‘sale’, Marsh: ‘stained’), sondern ‘eingefärbt’ (vgl. *OLD*, s.v. ‘tingo’, 3a), nämlich schwarz, braun und weiß. Die drei Berufe sind nach diesem farblichen Kriterium ausgewählt. Eine Anregung hierzu bot vielleicht Aesop., *fab.*, 29, wo die Berufe des Köhlers und des Walkers mit den Farben Schwarz und Weiß assoziiert erscheinen. Für die Gefahr, wegen unsauberer Kleidung in der Öffentlichkeit verspottet und gesellschaftlich herabgestuft zu werden, zeigt sich Alberti auch andernorts sensibel: vgl. *De commodis litterarum atque incommidis*, 5, 18: ‘*litteratum (...) aut vocari lixam aut coquum, si forte, ut fit, veste non ita lautissima de libris ad civium coronam progrediatur*’.<sup>64</sup>

### *Apologus 92*

Priapo custodi horti donum petenti respondit pater familias: “Admiror quidem te his, quae suppeditant, divitiis scivisse nusquam perfrui”. “At enim — inquit Priapus — vestes et lacernas volebam”. “An tu — inquit pater familias — ignoras ut stulti sint, qui dando nihil assequantur nisi ut, cum sibi dispendium fiat, tum accipienti quoque emolumentum afferant nullum?”.

Der Auftritt Priaps — d.h. einer Holzstatue des Gottes — könnte neben den Priapedichten der augusteischen Klassik (v.a. Hor., *sat.*, 1, 8; Tib., 1, 4) auch durch die zu Albertis Zeit recht populären *Carmina Priapea*

<sup>64</sup> Goggi Carotti, Alberti, ‘*De commodis litterarum atque incommidis*’, p. 104.

angeregt sein.<sup>65</sup> Unter den *divitiae, quae suppeditant* sind wohl die üblichen Opfer für Priap, v.a. Obst und kleinere Tiere, zu verstehen. Priaps Wunsch nach Kleidung wirkt aufgrund der gelegentlich betonten Härte seines Daseins unter freiem Himmel (*Priap.*, 63, 1-6 und v.a. Tib., 1, 4, 5-6) nachvollziehbar. Er ist aber insofern widersinnig, als der Gott seine Aufgabe als Hüter des Gartens nur erfüllen kann, indem er potentiellen Dieben sein riesiges, rot bemaltes Glied gut sichtbar präsentiert und ihnen so mit Vergewaltigung droht, wie das besonders gut *Priap.*, 9, 1-2 und 13-14 zeigt:

cur obscena mihi pars sit sine veste, requiris?  
quaere, tegat nullus cur sua tela deus.  
(...)  
nec mihi sit crimen, quod mentula semper aperta est:  
hoc mihi si telum desit, inermis ero.

Dementsprechend wird er zumindest in der Literatur (in der bildenden Kunst gibt es auch bekleidete Typen) immer nackt dargestellt.<sup>66</sup> Die ausweichende Antwort des *pater familias* überlässt es jedoch dem Leser, die wahren Zusammenhänge zu erraten.

### Apologus 96

Rogatus leo quid ita vehementer, pallio in se coniecto, perterrefieret, respondit: "Et quis, monstrum hoc cui neque caput adsit neque pectus, in aethere sublatum intuens non horrescat?".

Alberti geht von einem Bericht des älteren Plinius aus, wonach die Wildheit des Löwen gänzlich zum Erliegen kommt, wenn man ihm einen Umhang (*sagum*) oder eine leichte Decke (*levis iniectus*) über den Kopf wirft (*nat.*, 8, 54; vgl. Contarino). Er geht jedoch mit dieser Quelle, wie er das auch sonst tut<sup>67</sup>, frei um und ändert, was sie ihm bietet, in zwei wichtigen Punkten ab (die Ersetzung von *sagum* bzw. *iniectus* durch *pallium* fällt nicht ins Gewicht): Erstens wird der Löwe bei Plinius einfach

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. zu deren Beliebtheit Christiane Goldberg, 'Carmina Priapea': *Einleitung, Übersetzung, Interpretation und Kommentar* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), pp. 28-29 und 43-44 mit weiterer Literatur.

<sup>66</sup> Für Marshs Behauptung 'in antiquity, people hung clothes as votive offerings on garden statues of Priapus' gibt es, soweit ich sehe, keine Belege.

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. z.B. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 206.

zahn und gefügig ('torpescence tanta illa feritate'), wogegen er hier heftig erschrickt (*perterrefieret*). Zweitens führt Plinius die Wirkung des Tricks darauf zurück, dass der Überwurf den Kopf des Löwen bedeckt und ihm die Sicht nimmt, von der seine Wildheit abzuhängen scheint ('operto capite (...) videlicet omnis vis constat in oculis'); Albertis Löwe fürchtet sich dagegen vor dem in seinen Augen monströsen Anblick, den das durch die Luft auf ihn zusegelnde *pallium* bietet. Auf welche Pointe steuert Alberti mit diesen Änderungen zu? Testi Massetani (p. 101) meint, der Löwe werde als jemand kritisiert, der sich von Unbekanntem ins Bockshorn jagen lasse, statt es erst genau unter die Lupe zu nehmen. Das ist deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil er in den übrigen *Apologi*, in denen er die Hauptrolle spielt, nämlich *Apol.* 93, 97 und 99, für seinen Namensvetter, den Autor selbst, steht und stets positiv dargestellt wird.<sup>68</sup> Eine Interpretation, die den Löwen auch hier mit Leon Battista Alberti in Verbindung bringt und ihn nicht als Hasenfuß erscheinen lässt, erhält man, wenn man sich auf seine Antwort konzentriert und die beschriebene Situation nur als Aufhänger für diese versteht. Diese Technik findet sich *mutatis mutandis* bereits in der antiken äsopischen Tradition, wo die gegebene Moral mitunter nicht zur Geschichte, sondern nur zum abschließenden Ausspruch einer der handelnden Personen passt (vgl. z.B. Aesop., *fab.*, 54 und 187 Perry). Unter dieser Voraussetzung lässt sich 'neque caput neque pectus' als 'weder Hirn noch Verstand' verstehen (vgl. etwa Hor., *epist.*, 1, 4, 6: 'sine pectore'; Sen., *apocol.*, 8, 1: 'nec cor nec caput'), 'in aethere sublatum' als 'hochrangig, hochgestellt' oder 'hochgerühmt' (vgl. Redewendungen wie *in caelo esse* und v.a. *in caelum (laudibus) tollere*: *ThLL*, III, 91, 10-22): der Löwe findet es erschreckend, zu welch glänzenden Ehren manche dumme, unfähige Zeitgenossen gelangen. Ähnliche Eindrücke äußert Alberti auch sonst häufig: vgl. nur beispielshalber *Apol.* 20, wo ein tüchtiger Jagdhund, wie hier in Form einer rhetorischen Frage, das Wohllieben anderer, 'unnützer' Hunde mit den Worten '*Itane esse inertes praestat?*' kommentiert, und die Ausfälle gegen bäurische und ignorante, aber erfolgreiche Gelehrte in *De commodis litterarum atque incommotis*, 5, 37.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. etwa *ibid.*, pp. 305-307; Rinaldi, "*Melancholia Christiana*", pp. 80-81. Nebenrollen spielen Löwen in *Apol.* 72 und 95. Ein Sonderfall ist *Apol.* 98, s.u. Dass sich die Löwen-*Apologi* gegen Schluss der Sammlung häufen, ergibt einen sphragisartigen Effekt; vgl. Contarino, *Alberti, 'Apologhi' et 'Elogi'*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>69</sup> Goggi Carotti, *Alberti, 'De commodis litterarum atque incommotis'*, p. 110.

### *Apologus 98*

Lepus ille apud Martialem poetam celeberrimus, qui in os leonis confugerat, spectans a longe latrantes canes eos, qui se acrius essent secuti: “En — inquit — quanti interest nos huic commendatos fore!”.

Während hinter den Löwen der *Apologi* 93, 96-97 und 99 unschwer die Gestalt Albertis zu erkennen ist, kann man die Rolle eines Beschützers, die der Löwe hier einnimmt, schlecht auf den Autor beziehen.<sup>70</sup> Alberti spielt, wie es scheint, bewusst mit dem Leser und enttäuscht dessen mittlerweile aufgebaute Erwartungshaltung. Stattdessen legt er es ihm nahe, ihn selbst mit dem Hasen zu identifizieren. Wie der Alberti-Löwe in *Apol.* 97 unter missgünstigen *latratores* zu leiden hat, muss hier der *lepus* vor *latrantes canes* flüchten. Darüber hinaus erinnert seine lateinische Bezeichnung an Albertis literarisches *alter ego* Lepidus, zumal man *lepus* und *lepidus* seit der Antike für etymologisch miteinander verwandt hielt.<sup>71</sup> Für die Rolle des Löwen bietet sich aufgrund seines Namens ebenso wie in sachlicher Hinsicht Albertis prospektiver Mäzen Leonello d’Este an, zu dem Alberti in dieser Zeit erste Verbindungen knüpfte und um dessen Aufmerksamkeit er nicht zuletzt mit den *Apologi* geworben zu haben scheint.<sup>72</sup>

### *Apologus 100*

In pavonem invidus: “O inepte — dixerat — tune tibi coronam imposuisti?”. Respondit pavo: “Quod torqual tam variis coloribus susceperim nondum etiam perpendisti?”. Risere nymphe.

Vorab ein lexikalisches Problem: *torqual*, das Alberti in der Bedeutung des klassischen *torques*, ‘Halskette’, verwendet, ist ein wohl unbeabsichtigter Neologismus, der folgendermaßen zustande gekommen sein

<sup>70</sup> Die Szene, von der das Stück ausgeht, schildern Mart., 1, 6; 14; 22; 44; 48; 51; 60; 104.

<sup>71</sup> Prisc., *gramm.*, III, 118, 17 leitet *lepus* von *lepos* ab. Schwer verständlich ist ein Eintrag im Glossar des Placidus: ‘lepidus mollis dicitur a lepore, quod animal mollissimum est’ (*Gloss. Plac.*, V, 30, 13; vgl. auch V, 80, 17 und 19). Die mittelalterliche Aussprache näherte *lepus* und *lepos* einander auch lautlich an, vgl. Stotz, *Handbuch*, III (1996), 61. Zu Lepidus in Albertis Werk vgl. Giovanni Ponte, ‘Lepidus e Libripeta’, *Rinascimento*, 12 (1972), 237-265.

<sup>72</sup> Vgl. Grafton, *Leon Battista Alberti*, p. 307.

dürfte: *torques*, v.a. aber das davon abgeleitete *torquatus* wird gelegentlich in übertragener Bedeutung für das Halsgefieder von Vögeln verwendet: vgl. etwa Apul., *flor.*, 12, Prop., 4, 5, 65: ‘torquatae (...) columbae’ und Mart., 13, 67, 1: ‘torquati (...) palumbi’ (*OLD*, s.v. ‘torquatus’, 1). Alberti hatte vermutlich Stellen wie die beiden letztgenannten im Kopf und nahm nun ausgehend von *torquatus* eine unkorrekte Rückbildung vor. Dabei könnten ihn auf *-ale* gebildete Kleidungs- bzw. Schmuckbezeichnungen wie *focale*, ‘Schal’, und *pectorale*, ‘Brustplatte’, deren Plural und oblique Kasus sich nicht von denen eines Worts auf *-al* unterscheiden, sowie das sachlich und etymologisch mit dem Hals assoziierte *cervical*, ‘Polster’, irregeführt haben.

Inhaltlich liegt wie in vielen anderen Fällen (vgl. zu *Apol.* 7) so auch bei diesem Schlusstück die Pointe in dem, was ungesagt bleibt. Weder das Federkrönchen noch das Halsgefieder stellt das auffälligste Kennzeichen des Pfaus dar: Der Vogel reagiert auf den Angriff des *invidus*, der sich gegen ein Attribut von sekundärer Bedeutung richtet, indem er ihn auf ein zweites Merkmal derselben Art hinweist. Seinen wichtigsten Schmuck, das prächtige, aber nicht immer sichtbare Rad (vgl. nur *Apol.* 74), verschweigt er in ironischer Bescheidenheit. Damit straft er gleichzeitig den eitlen Charakter, den ihm die populäre Tierpsychologie zuschreibt, Lügen<sup>73</sup>, dekuviert den eingeschränkten Blickwinkel des Neidischen und macht deutlich, über welche Fülle an Schönheiten er verfügt. Aber nicht nur das: erst wenn der Leser das Rad in sein Verständnis des Stücks einbezieht, kann er auch Albertis Entscheidung, dieses am Schluss der ganzen Sammlung zu platzieren, wirklich begreifen. Wie in den Löwen der vorhergehenden *Apologi* darf man nämlich auch im Pfau eine Figur sehen, die für den Autor selbst steht. Zwischen beiden lassen sich zahlreiche Verbindungslinien ziehen: Wie der Pfau fühlt sich auch Alberti ständig vom Neid seiner Zeitgenossen verfolgt, was er sich auch zu Beginn der *Apologi* von Äsop brieflich bestätigen lässt (‘te vero (...) non iniuria diligerent, sed invidi sunt’).<sup>74</sup> Die Tatsache, dass Ennius den Vogel unter Homers früheren Inkarnationen aufzählt (*ann.*, 1, fr. ix: ‘memini me fiere pavom’), bringt diesen mit Literatur und Pythagoreismus in Verbindung, was den vielseitigen Schriftsteller und späteren Autor der *Sentenze pitagoriche* ebenfalls angesprochen haben dürfte. Schließlich verweist der Pfau als christliches Auferstehungs- und Unsterblich-

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Rinaldi, “*Melancholia Christiana*”, p. 81.

<sup>74</sup> Vgl. Marsh, *Renaissance Fables*, p. 24.

keitssymbol<sup>75</sup> auch auf Vorstellungen, die sich an Albertis Alter zum Zeitpunkt der Niederschrift der *Apologi* (33 Jahre) und an das Datum knüpfen, zu dem er diese abschließt (24. Dezember 1437). Zieht man nun auch das Pfauenrad in Betracht, so ergibt sich nicht nur eine weitere derartige Assoziation zu Alberti als Person — seine Federaugen evozieren Albertis berühmtes Emblem, das geflügelte Auge —; vor allem kulminieren die genannten Bezüge dann in einem Verweis auf die *Apologi* als literarisches Werk. Die Augen auf dem Rad sind ja bekanntlich aus denen des getöteten Argus entstanden: und dieser hatte genau hundert (Ov., *met.*, 1, 625; 720-723). Hundert verborgene Augen, deren Pracht dem *invidus* entgeht — ein schöneres Bild für hundert rätselhafte, tiefsinnige Fabeln, die Albertis Neider nicht zu begreifen und zu schätzen vermögen, lässt sich kaum denken.

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<sup>75</sup> Vgl. Keller, *Tierwelt*, II, 150.

Erik DE BOM

‘HOMO IPSE LUDUS AC FABULA’

VIVES’S VIEWS ON THE DIGNITY OF MAN  
AS EXPRESSED IN HIS *FABULA DE HOMINE*\*

Porro mortalium vita omnis quid aliud est,  
quam fabula quaeque, in qua  
alii aliis obiecti personis procedunt  
aguntque suas quisque partes,  
donec choragus educat e proscaenio?

(Erasmus, *Laus Stultitiae*)

In 1486 the young genius Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) composed an oration he would never deliver.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the oration was not even published during his lifetime. It was his nephew Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469-1533) who included the oration in his Bolognese edition of the *Opera Omnia* (1496) of his uncle Giovanni Pico at the repeated insistence of the most famous men.<sup>2</sup> However, he sometimes substantially modified the text and in all the editions based on the Bolognese one, he gave the oration various titles. Once he simply called it *Oratio*, another time he entitled it *Oratio in coetu Romanorum*, and in the index of and the preface to the Venetian edition of 1519 he mentioned it

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<sup>1</sup> An extensive list with bibliography can be found on the webpages of the Progetto Pico under the coordination of Pier Cesare Bori: [http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian\\_Studies/pico/](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Italian_Studies/pico/).

<sup>2</sup> For a broad overview of the history of the printing of the *Oratio* see Jan Papy, ‘De naverking van Giovanni Pico’s *Oratio de hominis dignitate*: een verhaal van toeval en bijval’, in *Pico della Mirandola, Rede over de menselijke waardigheid*. Vertaald en van aantekeningen voorzien door Michiel Op de Coul, met een inleiding en een nawoord van Jan Papy (Groningen: Historische Uitgeverij, 2008) [in press].

as *Oratio quaedam elegantissima*. Our image of Pico's oration has been influenced even more by the *Opera Omnia* edition of Strasbourg (1504), compiled by the German humanists Jacobus Wimpfeling (1450-1528) and Hieronymus Emser (1479-1527). On the basis of the marginal gloss *dignitas hominis* at the beginning of the *editio princeps* they gave it the final, but at the same time misleading title *Oratio de hominis dignitate*.<sup>3</sup>

Nearly forty years after Pico wrote his oration in 1486, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) wrote a 'little elegant work', as Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randall have called it<sup>4</sup>, totally in the spirit of Pico's text, the *Fabula de homine*.<sup>5</sup> At a young age Vives studied Pico's philosophical ideas. He was one of the few in the Netherlands to incorporate the Italian's ideas as expressed in the *Oratio* into a literary work of his own.<sup>6</sup> Clearly steeped in the tradition of the rich literature on *dignitas hominis*<sup>7</sup>, the Valencian composed a fictional tale

<sup>3</sup> This in contrast with the opinion of Ernst Cassirer, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. A Study in the History of Renaissance Ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (1942), 123-144 and 319-346 (p. 319) who stated that Pico himself devised this title.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller – John Herman Randall Jr., 'General Introduction', in Ernst Cassirer – Paul Oskar Kristeller – John H. Randall Jr. (eds), *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man: Petrarca, Valla, Ficino, Pico, Pomponazzi, Vives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 1-20 (p. 16).

<sup>5</sup> So far no critical edition has appeared of the *Fabula de homine*. The main edition is *Joannis Ludovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia*, distributa et ordinata in argumentorum classes praecipuas a Gregorio Maiansio, 8 vols (València: in officina Benedicti Monfort, 1782-1788), IV, 3-8. The text can also be consulted in Francisco Jordi Pérez i Durà, *Antología de textos de Juan Luis Vives* (València: Universitat de València, 1992), pp. 172-181 with Spanish translation, however with some misprints. More reliable is the text offered by Hans Gerhard Senger, 'Homo absconditus – Erkenntnis des Menschen in der Kunst des Archimimen. Zu Juan Luis Vives' *Fabula de homine*', in Ingrid Craemer Ruegenberg – Andreas Speer (eds), *Scientia und Ars im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 22, 2 vols (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), II, 918-941 (text on pp. 936-941), reprinted in Hans Gerhard Senger, *Ludus Sapientiae. Studien zum Werk und zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Nikolaus von Kues*, *Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 78 (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 353-379 (pp. 373-379). All references are to the edition of Maiansius, although I have modernised the punctuation and the spelling.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Marc Laureys, 'The Reception of Giovanni Pico in The Low Countries', in Gian Carlo Garfagnini (ed.), *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Convegno Internazionale di Studi nel Cinquecentesimo Anniversario della Morte (1494 – 1994)*, 2 vols (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1997), II, 625-640 (pp. 637-639).

<sup>7</sup> The literature about the *dignitas hominis* theme in the Renaissance is overwhelming. I mention only Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Jill Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', in Charles B. Schmitt et al. (eds), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 303-386 (pp. 306-316). A more general survey can be found in R. P. Horstmann, 'Menschenwürde', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 12 vols



about the exceptional nature of man.<sup>8</sup> On the occasion of her birthday, the goddess Juno organizes a sumptuous banquet. At the end of it, the gods ask her if she has prepared any plays to give her day even more splendour. And so, at Juno's request, Jupiter constructs this beautiful world with the earth serving as stage and the heavens containing the seats for the divine spectators. While looking at the various actors, the wisest gods agree that the most eminent actor of all is man, who can perform almost any part with outstanding skill: from an inanimate plant to the part of the almighty Jupiter. As a reward for his outstanding performance, man is granted a seat among the divine spectators themselves.

Despite the charming and interesting character of the text, the *Fabula de homine* has received little scholarly attention. Mostly, the text has been (briefly) mentioned in the broader context of a discussion of the *Oratio de hominis dignitate*,<sup>9</sup> or it has been studied as a so-called 'blueprint' of Vives's mature (philosophical, political, anthropological) ideas.<sup>10</sup> Only in the last two decades has the fable been studied as a literary work in its own right.<sup>11</sup> In this paper I want to offer a full and detailed interpretation

(Basel – Stuttgart: Schwabe, 1980), V, 1124-1127. Rather poor and disappointing is the book of Herschel Baker, *The Image of Man. A Study of the Idea of Human Dignity in Classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

<sup>8</sup> José Corts Grau makes no mention of the *Fabula de homine* in his article on human dignity in Vives's works, 'La dignidad humana en Juan Luis Vives', *Archivo de Derecho Público*, 3 (1950), 73-89.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. August Buck, 'Einleitung. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola und seine *Rede über die Würde des Menschen*', in *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Über die Würde des Menschen*. Lateinisch-Deutsch. Übersetzt von Norbert Baumgarten. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von August Buck, Philosophische Bibliothek, 427 (Hamburg: Felix Meier, 1990), pp. VII-XXVII (XXVI) and Charles Fantazzi, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine* as a Dramatic Representation of Pico's *Oratio*', *Nieuwsbrief Neolatinistenverband*, 15 (2003), 10-19. This article has also appeared in Spanish as 'La *Fabula de homine* como parodia de la oración de Pico de la Mirandola', in Francisco Jordi Pérez i Durà (ed.), *La Universitat de València i l'Humanisme: Studia Humanitatis e renovació cultural a Europa i al Nou Mon* (València: Universitat de València, 2003), pp. 79-87. The recent contribution by Manfred Lentzen also belongs to this category. See his 'Il libero arbitrio e la dignità dell'uomo. A proposito dell' *Oratio de hominis dignitate* di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e delle *Fabula de homine* di Juan Luis Vives', in Luisa Secchi Tarugi (ed.), *Il concetto di libertà nel Rinascimento. Atti del XVIII Convegno Internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 17-20 luglio 2006)*, Quaderni della Rassegna, 52 (Firenze: Franco Cesati, 2008), pp. 401-411.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. José A. Fernández-Santamaría, *The Theater of Man: Juan Luis Vives on Society*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 88, 2 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998) and Marcia L. Colish, 'The Mime of God: Vives on the Nature of Man', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23 (1962), 3-21.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. August Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine* im Kontext der *dignitas hominis*-Literatur der Renaissance', in Christoph Strosetzki (ed.), *Juan Luis Vives. Sein Werk und*

of the *Fabula*, taking into account some important elements which (often) have been neglected or insufficiently studied in scholarly research. First of all, I want to elucidate the precise circumstances of the genesis of the *Fabula*. An outline of Vives's activities, preceding the publishing of this youthful work, will also bring to light some important sources that can enrich my interpretation. Then, attention will be paid to the literary strategies and the specific form used by Vives, which are crucial elements in the construction of the meaning of the text. Following this, I will focus on Vives's concept of *dignitas hominis* by carrying out a detailed analysis of the specific nature and accomplishments of man. Finally, I shall indicate some difficulties in the interpretation of the *Fabula de homine*, while at the same time trying to offer a solution to some of them. Because the *Fabula* is clearly indebted to the *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, I shall often refer to Pico's oration to find out the peculiar character of Vives's text. In addition, I shall occasionally bring to light some sources that have been hitherto neglected by scholars.

## 1. Genesis of the *Fabula de homine*

After his (rudimentary) studies in Valencia, Vives went to the intellectual centre that was (supposedly) Paris in 1509. Afterwards he would often describe this stay as merely time-wasting, because of the unworldly logic practised there. One ray of light was his introduction to the work of two important humanists to whom Vives is certainly indebted. The first is Giovanni Pico whose work was more widely diffused in France than in any other country.<sup>12</sup> It is probably here that Vives became acquainted with Pico's *Oratio*.<sup>13</sup> While writing the *Fabula* he stayed in the Nether-

*seine Bedeutung für Spanien und Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag, 1995), pp. 1-8; Sebastian Neumeister, 'Noch einmal zur *Fabula de homine*', *ibid.*, pp. 179-186 and Senger, *Ludus Sapientiae*, pp. 353-379.

<sup>12</sup> As a consequence of the wide circulation of Pico's works in France, a lot of tracts dealing with human dignity emerge there, in Latin as well as in the vernacular. On this point see Lionello Sozzi, 'La *dignitas hominis* dans la littérature française de la Renaissance', in A. H. T. Levi (ed.), *Humanism in France at the End of the Middle Ages and in Early Modern Renaissance* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1970), pp. 176-198 (pp. 180-186). This text has been reprinted in Lionello Sozzi, *Rome n'est plus Rome. La polémique anti-italienne et autres essais sur la Renaissance suivis de La dignité de l'homme, Etudes et essais sur la Renaissance*, 41 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), pp. 339-366.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*', p. 2 and Germain Marc'hadour, 'Jean Pic de la Mirandole et son influence au nord des Alpes (1498-1560)', in Rhoda Schnur et al.

lands where Pico's letters and spiritual works were better known than the *Oratio*.<sup>14</sup> The other humanist with whose work Vives became familiar, at least in part, was Desiderius Erasmus. Especially his *Laus Stultitiae* has to be mentioned here: in his first publications Vives often would subtly refer to this masterpiece of Neo-Latin literature.<sup>15</sup> Although it is quite difficult to pinpoint clear traces of the *Laus* in the *Fabula*, it can be stated more generally that the elusive character and the playful form of Vives's text really do have something of the Erasmian spirit.

On the basis of a letter which Vives wrote to Hadrianus Barlandus, some scholars have concluded that the Valencian had been in Louvain before his stay in Paris.<sup>16</sup> They dated this letter to the end of 1513 or the beginning of 1514. In 1977, however, Jozef IJsewijn made a strong plea to date it to 1517.<sup>17</sup> What is this letter about?<sup>18</sup> Vives tells Barlandus that a month earlier he had heard from their common friend Jacobus Potterius that Barlandus had collected 'optimos quosque Vergilii Adagiones'. Potterius had succeeded in getting a copy of that work, and Vives was so enthusiastic that he urged the author to publish this magnificent work, the *Versuum ex poetarum principe Vergilio proverbialium Collectanea*. Most probably, the Valencian is not referring in this letter to the selection made up of the *Eclogues* alone which appeared in 1514, but to the

(eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bariensis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Bari 29 August to 3 September 1994*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 184 (Binghamton – New York: Suny, 1998), pp. 9-24 (p. 23).

<sup>14</sup> See Laureys, 'The Reception of Giovanni Pico', p. 639.

<sup>15</sup> Vives does so: e.g., in his *Sapiens* (1514), *Aedes Legum* (1519) and *Somnium* (1519). See Jozef IJsewijn, 'Satirical Elements in the Works of J. L. Vives', in Rudolf De Smet (ed.), *La satire humaniste. Actes du Colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993*, Travaux de l'Institut Interuniversitaire pour l'étude de la Renaissance et de l'Humanisme, 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), pp. 151-163. On page 153 IJsewijn explicitly states that there can be no doubt that Vives became familiar with the *Laus Stultitiae* in Paris.

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 10-13, 4 vols (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1951-1955), I, 233; Étienne Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus. Humaniste belge, 1486-1538. Sa Vie – Son Œuvre – Sa Personnalité*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 6 (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1938), p. 44 and 248; Marcel A. Nauwelaerts, 'De Spaans-Nederlandse Humanist Juan Luis Vives en Leuven', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige kring voor Leuven en omgeving*, 12 (1972), 173-207 (pp. 178-182).

<sup>17</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, 'J. L. Vives in 1512-1517. A Reconsideration of Evidence', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 26 (1977), 82-100.

<sup>18</sup> The most recent edition of the letter can be found in Gilbert Tournoy, 'Promulsis Vivica: A Critical Edition of the First Five Letters of Juan Luis Vives's Correspondence', in Fabio Forno – Carla Maria Monti – Paul Gerhard Schmidt (eds), *Margarita amicorum. Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, *Bibliotheca erudita: studi e documenti di storia e filologia*, 26, 2 vols (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2005), II, 1103-1119 (pp. 1114-1116).

selection compiled from the complete works of Virgil.<sup>19</sup> This edition must be dated, according to Gilbert Tournoy, to 1515.<sup>20</sup> This thesis has led to a reconsideration of the date of Vives's letter, viz. also to the year 1515.<sup>21</sup> The dating of the letter later than the end of 1513 or the beginning of 1514 makes the problem of Vives's probable stay in Louvain before he went to Paris less burning. The first testimony of his stay in the university city dates from later than was supposed by De Vocht, Daxhelet and others.

Whether Vives had been in Louvain before his stay in Paris or not, one element is of vital importance: Vives's interest in Virgil, an interest that lasted the rest of his lifetime.<sup>22</sup> Whatever the case, in 1517 the Valencian came to Louvain in the company of his most eminent pupil, William of Croÿ (1498-1521), later on Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo. At that moment humanist studies were burgeoning with the foundation of the *Collegium Triligue* in 1517. In the same year, Vives produced two little works in which the influence of Virgil is clear: the *Praelectio in Georgica Vergilii* and the *Fabula de homine*. Both *opuscula* are dedicated to another pupil, the young nobleman Antoon van Bergen (1500-1541), third son of Jan van Bergen and Adriana de Brimeu.<sup>23</sup> In 1517 Antoon studied in Louvain where he met Erasmus. Afterwards he stayed in England for a short time and married the sister of Cardinal William of Croÿ. When his father had died in 1531, he became lord of Bergen and the following year marquis of Bergen.

The letter of dedication of the two *opuscula* is dated 1518 so that we have a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of these small works.<sup>24</sup> It

<sup>19</sup> For the many editions of this work see Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus*, pp. 39-46.

<sup>20</sup> See Gilbert Tournoy, 'Anecdota Vivica (I)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), 329-337 (pp. 331-337).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Tournoy, 'Promulsis Vivica', pp. 1114-1116. On the problems relating to the edition of all of Vives's works, see the pertinent remarks by Jozef IJsewijn, 'Zu einer kritischer Edition der Werke des J. L. Vives', in August Buck (ed.), *Juan Luis Vives. Arbeitsgespräch in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel vom 6. bis 8. November 1980*, Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 3 (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), pp. 23-34.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jozef IJsewijn, 'Vivès et Virgile', in Raymond Chevallier (ed.), *Présence de Virgile. Actes du Colloque des 9, 11 et 12 Décembre 1976*, Caesarodunum, 13bis (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1978), pp. 313-321.

<sup>23</sup> Biographical information on the person of Antoon van Bergen can be found in C. G. Leijenhof, 'Antoon (III) van Bergen', in Peter G. Bietenholz – Thomas B. Deutscher (eds), *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, 3 vols (Toronto – Buffalo – London: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987), I, 131.

<sup>24</sup> The letter can be found in the edition of Maianus, IV, 1-2. The dedicatory letter is also preserved in *Io[annis] Lodovici Vivis Valentini opera, in duos distincta tomos* (Basileae: Nicolaus Episcopius, 1555), I, 269.

has to be mentioned, however, that it is possible that the so-called Christmas-style was still used for the date at the University of Louvain. This would mean that the year 1518 refers to the period from 25 December 1517 until 24 December 1518. In that case the dedication of the *Fabula* and the *Praelectio* could refer to the far shorter period of 25 until 31 December 1517. As a consequence, the works could already have been completed in December 1517 rather than 1518.<sup>25</sup> Whatever the date of their composition, the two little works appeared for the first time in 1519 in the *Opuscula Varia* printed by Dirk Martens in Louvain.

It is worth stressing that Barlandus published a collection of fables by Dirk Martens in 1517. It is a reprint of a revised collection of 1513 in which he offered Dorpius's reprint of Goudanus's prose version of Aesop supplemented with fables by different authors, an enlargement of that corpus and new materials by his (viz. Barlandus) own hand.<sup>26</sup> It is highly probable that Vives knew this collection at that time. We can therefore reasonably suppose that, during his stay in the Netherlands prior to the publication of the *Fabula de homine*, Vives had extensively studied various fables and the poetry of Virgil. In also recalling that the Valencian was acquainted with the *Oratio* of Giovanni Pico and the *Laus Stultitiae* of Erasmus, I have not only elucidated the precise circumstances of composition, but have at the same time brought to light some important sources.

## 2. Literary strategies

By dedicating his *Fabula de homine* to Antoon van Bergen, Vives was explicitly addressing a young readership. At that time the young nobleman was 18 years old and was being instructed for (what probably would become) a worldly career, just like his father. As a good pedagogue, Vives opted for a literary form that was didactically suited to expressing his

<sup>25</sup> See Constant Matheeußen, 'De omstreden datering van een Leuvense Martens-druk: J. L. Vives' *Opuscula varia*', in Francine de Nave (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet* (Antwerpen: Roels N.V., 1985), pp. 285-301 (p. 292) and Id., 'The Date of the *Opuscula varia* of J. L. Vives', in Ian D. McFarlane (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandreami. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. St. Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 38 (Binghamton – New York: Suny, 1986), pp. 263-268.

<sup>26</sup> See now Enrique González González, 'Martinus Dorpius and Hadrianus Barlandus Editors of Aesop (1509-1513)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 47 (1998), 28-41.

views on a rather difficult subject, viz. the form of a fable. Whilst initially the fable was mostly inserted into 'philosophical' treatises or poetic works serving as an *exemplum*, the fable had gradually developed into an independent genre, often used for educational purposes.<sup>27</sup> Contrary to Pico, who composed a sophisticated oration in a highly rhetorical manner to win over his critics to an acceptance of his unusual synthesis of 900 theses and to persuade them of his new *ratio philosophandi*<sup>28</sup>, Vives wrote a light-hearted *opusculum* in which action and description alternate. No special use is made of typical literary figures, such as bicolon, tricolon, chiasmus, figura etymologica, parallelism, polyptoton, homoioteleuton, anaphor or litotes. The Valencian had no intention of writing for learned readers, elderly theologians and philosophers. Instead, he addressed a young audience for whom he preferred to describe the precise atmosphere and setting in a narrative playful in character. All Olympian gods have gathered together to celebrate Juno's birthday, on which occasion various parts are played by a range of actors.<sup>29</sup> In so doing, Vives was trying to stimulate the interest of his pupil in particular, and all other schoolboys in general, in quite a complicated subject, viz. that of the *dignitas hominis*.

Another important aspect of Vives's pedagogical concern, apart from his choice of the form of a fable, is his pursuit of a concrete description, on a macro-level as well as on a micro-level. On the macro-level, we see how Vives, following the example of Plato, created a new myth of his own to illustrate a philosophical, abstract idea.<sup>30</sup> He constructed an entire pantheon with Greek/Roman gods who, on the occasion of Juno's birthday, could enjoy a marvellous performance in which man excels.<sup>31</sup> 'The

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Francisco Rodríguez Adragos, *History of the Graeco-Latin Fable. Revised and Updated by the Author and Gert-Jan van Dijk*, Mnemosyne, 201, 207, 236, 3 vols (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999-2003) and Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Fable. An Introduction* (Bloomington – Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> On the rhetorical techniques in the *Oratio* see e.g. Francesco Bausi, *Nec rhetor neque philosophus. Fonti, lingua e stile nelle prime opere latine di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1484-87)*, Centro Internazionale di Cultura "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola". Studi Pichiani, 3 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1996), pp. 93-163.

<sup>29</sup> The opening scene is clearly reminiscent of the end of the story of Amor and Psyche as it is told by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoseon libri*, 6, 23-24. Cf. Lynda G. Christian, *Theatrum Mundi. The History of an Idea*, Harvard Dissertations in Comparative Literature (New York – London: Garland Publishing, 1987), p. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine* im Kontext', p. 5 drew the attention to this point.

<sup>31</sup> In my opinion it is not correct to say that Vives's elaboration is less precise than Pico's, as does Nancy Lenkeith, 'Introduction', in Cassirer – Kristeller – Randall, *Renaissance Philosophy of Man*, pp. 385-386 (p. 385).

*Fabula*, with its cosmological scope, unity of theme, and full-blown pantheon, is at once more detailed and more compact than the *Oratio*.<sup>32</sup> Whilst Pico presents the core of his vision on human dignity by means of a small metaphor of the stage — followed by a passage in which he explains this by referring to diverse authorities —, Vives develops rather a metaphor of the stage which is sustained throughout the text without ever (explicitly) referring to another source or authority.<sup>33</sup>

On the micro-level, I draw attention to the various (detailed) descriptions which Vives offers: for example, those of the diverse parts of man, the reactions of the gods, nature and achievements of mankind, and so forth. This point can more clearly be illustrated by a further comparison with Pico's oration. When we consider the various parts man is able to play, we observe that Pico presents them in a simple, rhetorically well composed enumeration with a philosophical touch. Four times he employs a rather technical adjective to describe one of the stages, followed by a predicate or, once, simply by a verb. Only the last stage is elaborated upon more extensively, probably because of the exceptional state, and at the same time marvellous event.<sup>34</sup> Vives, on the other hand, does not make use of any abstract term, but portrays every part with a feeling for visualization, clarity and liveliness. So, in the first stage, he explains what it means to be a plant and continues with a vivid catalogue of animals, each depicted with its defining characteristic. In doing so, the Spaniard shows us a fascinating world of animals, instead of the dry verb *obrucescere* used by Pico. The rather abstract *caeleste animal* of the *Oratio* is replaced by a more detailed description of the nature and activities of man. The last two stages also are presented in a far more elaborate way,

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Colish, 'The Mime of God', p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> It has to be remarked that both authors give us a kind of key for understanding their myth. Pico explains his representation by means of the commentary following the myth, whereas Vives gives an initial impetus to the interpretation in his letter of dedication to Antoon van Bergen. I shall come back to this (crucial) point in my interpretation of the *Fabula*.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Pico, *Oratio*: 'Quae quisque excoluerit illa adolescent, et fructus suos ferent in illo. Si vegetalia planta fiet, si sensuality obrucescet, si rationalia caeleste evadet animal, si intellectualia angelus erit et Dei filius. Et si nulla creaturarum sorte contentus in unitatis centrum suae se receperit, unus cum Deo spiritus factus, in solitaria Patris caligine qui est super omnia constitutus omnibus antestabit'. I quote the text from *Jean Pic de la Mirandole, Œuvres Philosophiques*. Texte latin, traduction et notes par Olivier Boulnois et Giuseppe Tognon. Suivis d'une étude sur *Humanisme et dignité de l'homme* selon Pic de la Mirandole par Olivier Boulnois. Préface par Giuseppe Tognon (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), pp. 6-8.

alternating with scenes in which the reactions of the gods to the remarkable performance are described.<sup>35</sup>

While Vives, on the one hand, expressed his ideas in a fable to visualize and illustrate his ideas on human dignity, the form of this literary genre, on the other hand, also complicates the interpretation. In what follows I will sometimes have to draw the attention to some obscure elements which emerge by Vives's choice for the form of a fable. At this moment I want to make explicit a crucial frame of reference, viz. the Christian background. Although the author constructed a classical pantheon with pagan gods, there are some clear elements that situate the whole story without doubt in a Christian setting. At the beginning Jupiter constructs this whole world, *mundus hic universus*, at Juno's request.<sup>36</sup> This creative power *ex nihilo* is not the typical attribute of a profane god, who, as a kind of primitive power, has to be propitiated and who, at the most, only can make order out of a given chaos. Secondly, man is called by Jupiter *foetura sua*, and even the stupidest gods cannot ignore the fact that this actor is created by the supreme god and that his appearance does reflect Jupiter's image.<sup>37</sup> When the splendid actor is called from stage, the gods are especially touched by his similarity with their father.<sup>38</sup> In this way, the famous lines of Genesis 1:25 and 27 are alluded to three times: 'faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram' and 'creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam'. This transparent allusion clearly suggests that the idea of a god creating man after his own image is not classical<sup>39</sup>; undeniably, there is a verbal similarity with the Bible. When

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>36</sup> According to me, Hanna-Barbara Gerl, *Einführung in die Philosophie der Renaissance* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1989), pp. 181-191 (p. 188) unjustly emphasized the accidental character of the creation of the earth. Vives rather wanted to stress the creation *in time*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 4: 'Placebat ipse sibi Iupiter videns tantopere admirari laudarique hominem, foeturam suam, ab omnibus diis. Qui assidebant Iovi cum in humano Archimimo tam sibi eum placere viderent, facile intellexerunt illam ab ipso personam esse factam, quin et intentius perspicientes multam Iovis effigiem in homine ipso agnoverunt, qua vel hebetissimus deorum iudicasset natum eum esse a Iove'.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7: 'Haec atque alia dii contuentes, quum non teneret eos satietas, haud secus ac qui in speculo suam intuentur formosam imaginem, delectantur ea nec gravate diutius immorantur, sic illi, quum et se et patrem ipsum Iovem in homine tam expressos viderent'.

<sup>39</sup> In pagan literature the supreme god is able to extirpate the human race. Afterwards, he can order the creation of a new one. See e.g. Ov., *met.*, 1, 209-415. In the *Timaeus* of Plato, the creation of mankind is an activity of several gods: the Demiurge asks the assistance of the (recently shaped) gods to create the other (living) creatures. Cf. Plato, *Tim.*, 41b-47e.



Vives describes the remarkable part of man portraying Jupiter, he refers to the dwelling-place of this supreme God, situated 'ad inaccessibilem illam penetrans lucem caligine vallatam'. This is not only a reference to 1 Timothy 6:15-16, but also to the *Oratio*.<sup>40</sup>

### 3. *Nihil homine admirabilius*

During the performance Juno could not contain her excitement, she vigorously sprang up and rambling through the seats of the immortal gods she asked which of the actors they considered the greatest. The wisest of the gods answered that none was more praiseworthy than man; even the father of the gods himself endorsed their opinion. It is noteworthy to point to the fact that this view is professed by the wisest of the gods and sustained by the omnipotent Jupiter. As such, the judgment gains in strength as it is asserted by an outstanding and noble audience.<sup>41</sup> Yet, what is it that makes man such an exceptional actor? What are the qualities that enable him to play such splendid and diverse parts? What is it that moves the gods to their high praise? In order to answer these questions, I will work out what constitutes the precise nature of man and how this nature enables him to perform in such an excellent way and to realize certain magnificent achievements.

#### 3.1. *The naked nature of man*

A crucial element in understanding the particular nature of man, is his godlike qualities. As I already stated, even the stupidest of the gods do

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Vulg., 1 Tim 6:15-16: 'quem suis temporibus ostendet beatus et solus potens rex regum et Dominus dominantium qui solus habet immortalitatem lucem habitans inaccessibilem' and Pico, *Oratio*, p. 6-8: 'Et si nulla creaturarum sorte contentus in unitatis centrum suae se receperit, unus cum Deo spiritus factus, *in solitaria Patris caligine* qui est super omnia constitutus omnibus antestabit' (my italics). Senger, *Ludus Sapientiae*, pp. 366-367 and *passim* gives yet some other (vague) similarities between Vives's text and the Bible.

<sup>41</sup> This procedure can be compared to what Pico does in his *Oratio*, where it is Abdallah the Saracen who uses nearly the same words in answering a similar question. Both Pico and Vives subordinate the words 'nihil homine admirabilius' to the verb 'respondere'. See Pico, *Oratio*, p. 2: 'Legi, Patres colendissimi, in Arabum monumentis, interrogatum Abdalam Sarracenum, quid in hac quasi mundana scena admirandum maxime spectaretur, nihil spectari homine admirabilius respondisse' and Vives, *Fabula*, p. 4: 'Sapientissimi deorum nihil esse homine admirabilius responderunt, quibus et ipse deorum pater nutu assensus est'.

see that man is a descendant of the supreme deity. The resemblance becomes the more clear as they can catch a glimpse of man who, from time to time, just for a moment slightly drops his mask. Then, the divine spectators can clearly see how this human creature is related to Jupiter. He shares in the qualities of the omnipotent god: in his immortality (*immortalitas*), wisdom (*sapientia*), prudence (*prudentia*), consciousness of the past (*memoria*) and his virtues (*virtutes*).<sup>42</sup> This similarity of man to Jupiter — grasped in terms of the similitude-image of Genesis — Vives also expressed with a specific word, coined after the Greek: man is a *pantomimus*, literally translated, an ‘imitator of everything’. Just as Jupiter, or even better, just as God encompasses everything with his virtuousness and actually is everything, so man is able to perform everything.<sup>43</sup> The idea of being able to play nearly every part is taken up again and elaborated in two images also found in the *Oratio*, where man is compared to a chameleon and the multiform sea-god Proteus. This Protean nature can also be found in a series of adjectives, which, again, occur in both texts: *versipellis*, *varius* and *desultorius*.<sup>44</sup> Of these two complement characteristics — divinity and multiformity — Vives stresses the former far more than Pico has done, even though they both use the same words and images to symbolize the latter.<sup>45</sup>

What Vives actually means with the word *pantomimus* is immediately clarified by the description of the sparkling performance. After man has

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 4: ‘Homo ipse, qui sub persona latet, sed emicans crebro atque exiliens paene foras et multis se in rebus clare ostendens plane divinus Ioveusque est, immortalitatis ipsius Iovis particeps, sapientiae, prudentiae, memoriae, virtutum ita consors, ut haec maxima munera de suo thesauro atque adeo de se ipso impertitum illi esse Iovem facile cognoscatur’.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4: ‘Deinde ut ipse deorum maximus virtute sua omnia complectitur, omnia est, sic et hunc ipsius Pantomimum esse videbant’.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Pico, *Oratio*, p. 8 and 10-12: ‘Quis hunc nostrum chamaeleonta non admiretur? Aut omnino quis aliud quicquam admiretur magis? Quem non immerito Asclepius Atheniensis versipellis huius et se ipsam transformantis naturae argumento per Protheum in mysteriis significari dixit. [...] Hinc illud Chaldeorum, [Hebrew text] idest homo variae ac multiformis et desultoriae naturae animal’. Vives, *Fabula*, pp. 5-6: ‘Primum stupescere se in scenam etiam introductos expressosque ab hoc tam ethico mimo, quem plerique multiformem illum Protheum, Oceani filium, esse affirmabant [...] Quae natura, persona corporeque intacta, animal reddit tam varium, tam desultorium, tam versipellem, polypum, et cameleonta quam in scena viderant’. The image of the polyp is used only by Vives.

<sup>45</sup> Although Fantazzi, ‘Vives’ *Fabula de homine*, p. 17 pointed out that there are verbal similarities between the texts of Pico and Vives to denote human nature, he does not mention them.

played the part of an inanimate plant, he takes the stage of various animals: first he is an angry lion, then a rapacious wolf, another time a wild boar, a cunning fox, a lustful sow, a timid hare, an envious dog and a stupid donkey. When we consider the next stage — that of *homo* — the enumeration of the animals has to be seen in a somewhat different light. Vives is not just listing some animals, but portraying human beings. Since all animals are introduced with a typical (negative) characteristic, they represent human beings who actually do not deserve that name.<sup>46</sup> A true human being possesses certain qualities that make it possible to live as a responsible citizen in a community with others. This man is prudent (*prudens*), just (*iustus*), social (*socius*), human (*humanus*), kind (*benignus*) and compliant (*comes*). In short, to put it in a hendiadys, a true man is *socius civilisque*.<sup>47</sup>

This last role is seen by the gods as being particularly praiseworthy. This can be deduced from the reaction of the gods who do not expect to see man in another role. Yet, then at once, man comes on the stage, shaped as one of the gods, surpassing the nature of man and relying entirely upon the '*sapientissima mens*'. Within the Christian framework of the *Fabula*, man in this stage does not represent a classical god, but an angel.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, man continues to amaze his divine spectators. Beyond any expectation man appears as Jupiter himself. All the gods are astonished by this convincing performance, and even have to make sure that it is not the supreme deity himself who appeared on the stage. It is worth noticing that although man splendidly *performs* Jupiter, he does not *become* Jupiter, he *is* no Jupiter. His playing the role of the supreme God

<sup>46</sup> The procedure of linking a typical feature to an animal, whereby the animal becomes the symbol for the feature is often used in fable literature, as can be clearly seen in the fables of La Fontaine for example. See Senger, *Ludus sapientiae*, p. 361 who also sees a link with the Paulinian catalogue of bad features. Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*', p. 6 also points out the relationship between the characteristics of animals and those of men.

<sup>47</sup> This pair of 'virtues' Vives almost certainly has taken from the third chapter of the third book of Giannozzo Manetti's *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* where he says: 'hominem animal sociale et civile [...] definitum esse novimus'. I cited the text after Ianotii Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*. Edidit Elizabeth R. Leonard, *Thesaurus Mundi*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Latinorum Mediae et Recentioris Aetatis, 12 (Patavii: In Aedibus Antenoreis, 1975), p. 66. According to Fantazzi, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*', p. 16 this idea can already be found in Aristotle and Cicero. He gives however no precise references.

<sup>48</sup> In his edition Maiansius added in the margin the word '*angelus*' (p. 5).

remains a *mimesis*, an imitation.<sup>49</sup> There were some actors who mistook their own fiction for real, but they were punished severely.<sup>50</sup>

This ability to take on a variety of parts, from the lowest inanimate plant to the sublime Jupiter himself, moves all the gods to admiration.<sup>51</sup> Not once but twice the Olympians ask Juno to recall the talented actor from the stage, in order to include him in the ranks of the gods. After Jupiter's agreement, Mercury introduces man to the divine spectators, who all receive him in a silence of wonder. There is only one condition for being admitted among the gods: man has to dispose of his mask.<sup>52</sup> They want to become acquainted with the actor himself, who surprised them many times, every time shaped in another way. Completely naked, man stands amidst the gods, revealing his true nature, that is akin to theirs.<sup>53</sup> Rather than man being astonished by the gods, the gods are astonished by man, who is granted several honours. Not only are ambrosia and nectar placed before him, he also receives the purple *praetexta*, and is admitted to the orchestra with the gods of the first rank; he now watches the festivities in the company of these eminent spectators.

### 3.2. *The play with the mask*

Although man has had to set aside his mask, when admitted among the gods, he has to put it on again when enjoying their sumptuous banquet. Because this mask has so well met the needs of man, it is deemed worthy of the table of the gods. In combination with his divine nature, the mask has enabled man to play the various parts. As is stated in the *Fabula*: 'Detectus totus homo, ostendit immortalibus diis naturam suam illis germanam. Quae natura, persona corporeque intacta, animal reddit tam varium, tam desultorium, tam versipellem, polypum, et cameleonta quam

<sup>49</sup> As an actor man remains an imitator. Cf. Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*, p. 8. Lenkeith, 'Introduction', p. 386 is somewhat ambiguous when she states: 'His Protean activity reaches its climax as he transforms himself into the person of the god Jupiter'. This is also an important difference between the *Oratio* and the *Fabula*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 5: 'Fuere ex aliis histrionibus qui iurarint non illum hominem, sed eundem ipsum Iovem esse, qui tamen pro tanto errore acerbas poenas luerunt'.

<sup>51</sup> Just as Pico in his *Oratio*, Vives employs a neo-Platonic, hierarchic structure of the *kosmos*: the lowest part is surpassed and encompassed by the following one. According to Fernández-Santamaría, *The Theater of Man*, pp. 3-4 the transition of *planta* to *homo* resembles Vives's views on the development of human history.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 6: 'ut is homo, qui deorum et Iovis personas tam apte egisset, persona deposita inter deos sederet'.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *ibid.*: 'detectus totus homo, ostendit immortalibus diis naturam suam illis germanam'.

in scena viderant'. Only one (subtle) reference in the text — in the above quoted passage — makes clear that we have to equate the mask with the human body. The copulative particle *-que* in the word-group *persona corporeque intacta* has to be understood as an exegetical *-que*: the *persona* is the *corpus*.<sup>54</sup> Just like Giannozzo Manetti before him, Vives stresses the beauty and functionality of the body.<sup>55</sup> It is a real 'composition', of which nothing may be changed without annihilating its beauty, harmony and functionality. This is the typical (old) Greek thought of the *kosmos*: all the universe is so well composed that every part has its own place and nothing may be rearranged without damaging the beauty as well as the functionality.

In one single paragraph, Vives describes the build and function of the head, the ears, the eyes and the fingers. For this description he largely draws on Manetti's *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, itself based on Cicero's *De natura deorum* and Lactantius' *De opificio Dei*.<sup>56</sup> Whilst Manetti quotes at length the opinions of Cicero and Lactantius, the Spaniard selects and combines the views of these authors. In order to illustrate this point, I shall take one example: the description of the head, at the beginning of Vives's exposition of the human body. In the *Fabula* he writes: 'celsum caput divinae mentis arcem et aulam; in eo sensoria quinque ornate utiliterque et digesta et sita' (p. 6). Manetti, in contrast, cites Cicero as well as Lactantius. The former states: 'Sensus autem interpretes ac nuntii rerum in capite tanquam in arce mirifice ad usus necessarios et facti et collocati sunt'. And in the *De opificio Dei* the latter

<sup>54</sup> This function of *-que* already occurs in classical Latin. Cf. Hermann Menge, *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik*. Völlig neu bearbeitet von Thorsten Burkard und Markus Schaurer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), p. 350 (§274, 5) and 583-585 (§427, 1c and 3a). José A. Fernández-Santamaría, 'The Foundations of Vives' Social and Political Thought', in Antonio Mestre (ed.), *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, 4 vols (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1992), I, 217-262 (p. 220) and Fernández-Santamaría, *The Theater of Man*, p. 2 and 6 equates the mask with the body, without giving any argumentation.

<sup>55</sup> Vives, *Fabula*, p. 6: 'Ipse enim eas [i.e. *personales exuvias* (= *persona*)] fecerat non minus actibus omnibus decoras quam utiles'. Cf. Oliver Glaap, *Untersuchungen zu Giannozzo Manetti, De dignitate et excellentia hominis. Ein Renaissance-Humanist und sein Menschenbild*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 55 (Stuttgart – Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1994), p. 126: 'Diese [...] Hauptteile des ersten Buches schildern detailliert und mit beinahe hymnischer Begeisterung die funktionale wie ästhetische Perfektion des menschlichen Körpers [...]'.

<sup>56</sup> Whereas Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*, p. 4 states that Manetti is 'höchstwahrscheinlich' a source for Vives, I will argue that the Florentine humanist certainly was an important source.

affirms: 'Eius prope divina mens, quia non tantum animantium que sunt in terra sed etiam sui corporis est sortita dominatum, in summo capite collocata tanquam in arce sublimi, speculatur omnia et contuetur. Hanc eius aulam non obductam porrectamque formavit'.<sup>57</sup> In constructing his (much smaller) description — compared to the texts of Cicero and Lactantius — Vives adopts a few striking images from these two Roman authors, which he found cited together in Manetti. So, from Cicero he borrows the idea of the head as an *arx* with the senses well-disposed in it, while Lactantius is his source for the image of the head as an *aula*.<sup>58</sup>

Yet, just as man has received his mask also from Jupiter,<sup>59</sup> so also has he been given both his body and his divine nature by the supreme deity. So, when man appears as Jupiter himself, a somewhat ambiguous situation arises: as the very image of the supreme god, man comes on the stage, bearing the mask resembling the supreme god himself.<sup>60</sup> Anyway, the gods examined this mask attentively for a long time, and praised Jupiter's wisdom and skill for having produced such remarkable costumes which nobody could have made better. As I already stated, in the end man has to put his mask on again. Since it has so well met his needs, it has been given the power of perception, so that it can enjoy the eternal bliss of the banquet. Once more we have to 'translate' this into a Christian language. God raises from the dead not only man's soul (= the divine nature), but also his earthly body (= the mask). At the same time, Vives vividly describes here what Pico saw as the ultimate good: being invited to the table of the immortal gods in order fully to enjoy eternity, sprinkled with nectar.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.3. Achievements

From the very beginning of the *Fabula* Vives stresses that the gods are astonished by the activities, words and deeds of man: 'Nam cum gestus,

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, 1, 8 and 15 (ed. Leonard, p. 9 and 12). Vide Cic., *nat. deor.*, 2, 140 and Lact., *opif.*, 8, 3-4.

<sup>58</sup> For a more detailed discussion of all the parallels with Cicero and Lactantius I refer to my licence thesis *Nihil homine admirabilius. Een vergelijkende studie van de dignitas hominis-idee in Pico's Oratio de hominis dignitate en Vives' Fabula de homine* (unpublished licence thesis: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2005), pp. 101-105.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. note 54.

<sup>60</sup> It was Gerl, *Einführung in die Philosophie der Renaissance*, p. 188 who paid attention to this point.

<sup>61</sup> See Pico, *Oratio*, p. 28: 'Quis humana omnia posthabens, fortunae contemnens bona, corporis negligens, deorum conviva adhuc degens in terris fieri non cupiat, et aeternitatis nectare madidus mortale animal immortalitatis munere donari?'

verba, omnes denique eius personae actus attentius spectabant, maiore ac maiore stupore defigebantur' (p. 4). A few lines before, Vives has emphasized the quality of the performance: 'tam scite, tam composite, tam Roscie tragoedias, comoedias, satyras, mimos, atellanas aliaque eiusmodi egerunt' (p. 4).<sup>62</sup> This attention to concrete actions reappears explicitly at the end of the text where the Spaniard enumerates some of the important achievements of humankind. For this descriptive enumeration Vives probably drew on Plato's *Protagoras*<sup>63</sup>, the *De dignitate et excellentia hominis* of Manetti once more and also, although to a very small degree, on Cicero's *Leges*. The combination of a divine nature and a divine body enables man to perform magnificent deeds. It is no coincidence that Vives lists cities and houses in the first place among the *inventae*. After all, the stage of a true human being, who is *socius civilisque*, holds an important position in Vives's conception. Further, man knows how to use animals, herbs, stones and metals. The wisest men have the greatest admiration for the 'appellationes et nomina cunctarum rerum'. This statement is immediately followed by the impressive achievement of comprising the immense variety of sounds of the human voice with a few letters only. This fascination for the (correctly) spoken and written word, is characteristic of the Renaissance, a period during which special attention was paid to language, just because it is by this means that man distinguishes himself from the animal.<sup>64</sup> This made possible the tradition of so many *disciplinae*, of which *religio* takes a central part, according to Vives. Relying on the *Leges* of Cicero (1, 8) and the *Protagoras* (322a), he describes religion as the 'cognitio et cultus' of the supreme deity and the other gods, through which the close relationship between the gods and

<sup>62</sup> Although Gerl, *Einführung in die Philosophie*, p. 187, rightly stresses the multiforimity of man, she makes no mention of the aspect of skill, that is certainly just as important. The same point is also underestimated by Senger, *Ludus Sapientiae*, p. 361.

<sup>63</sup> It is worth pointing out that Pico also made use of the *Protagoras*, although in a very different context. Whereas Vives uses the Greek philosopher for his description of the achievements of man, Pico focuses on the myth itself to compose a similar situation, yet with a very different outcome. For a discussion of the *Protagoras* in the *Oratio*, see my 'De mythe van Prometheus... een verhaal over vrijheid en noodzaak', *Kleio*, 34 (2004), 39-46.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. August Buck, *Die humanistische Tradition in der Romania* (Berlin – Zürich: Verlag Gehlen Bad Hornburg, 1968), pp. 26-27. The most famous ideas related to this topic are, of course, formulated by Lorenzo Valla in his preface to his *Elegantiae*, where he explicitly links language to the liberal arts. Cf. Mariangela Regoliosi, *Nel cantiere del Valla. Elaborazione e montaggio delle Elegantie*, *Humanistica*, 13 (Roma: Bulzoni, 1993), pp. 119-125.

man is revealed. All other inventions of man would have been of small interest, if a 'thesaurus rerum omnium' (as Vives describes the *memoria*) had not been included in the make up of man.<sup>65</sup> The resulting combination in man of *religio* and *memoria* provides even another faculty: that of the 'providentia et futurorum coniectura', a spark of that divine knowledge.

The attention Vives paid to the particular nature of man and his fine achievements, in general, and to his *actus*, *gestus*, in particular, reveals an important difference with Pico's *Oratio de hominis dignitate* and, at the same time, sheds light on the specific nature of the *Fabula de homine*. It is striking that Pico did not treat the build and/or function of the body, and did not enter upon the accomplishments of humankind. It is also remarkable that Vives for his description of these aspects largely drew on the Florentine humanist Giannozzo Manetti. In doing so, Vives subscribes to the humanist tradition with its emphasis on the *vita activa*.<sup>66</sup> In the *Oratio* Pico does not pay attention to the build of the human body which enables him to realize magnificent achievements.<sup>67</sup> As he places the *vita contemplativa* before the *vita activa*, he is more linked to the medieval tradition.<sup>68</sup> As regards Vives's views on man, it is worth recalling the nature of his philosophy in general.<sup>69</sup> He always combines an interest in practical problems with an unconditional attention to man: he wants to study man in his own time with his own problems. Not once does he fall

<sup>65</sup> The image is taken from Manetti, *De dignitate et excellentia hominis*, 2, 46 (ed. Leonard, p. 63).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Buck, 'Vives' *Fabula*', p. 7. For a more general account of the relationship between the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa* I refer to Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The active and the contemplative life in Renaissance Humanism', in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Arbeit, Musse, Meditation. Betrachtungen zur Vita activa und Vita contemplativa* (Zürich: Fachvereine, 1985), pp. 133-152.

<sup>67</sup> Difference should be made of course between the build of the body and the 'genuine' nature of man, which he describes at length.

<sup>68</sup> See also Matteo A. Guskovskij, 'Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: uomo del Medioevo o del Rinascimento?', in *L'opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell'Umanismo. Convegno internazionale (Mirandola, 15 - 18 settembre 1963)*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 2 vols (Firenze: Nella Sede dell'Istituto, 1965), II, 457-467 (pp. 462-463).

<sup>69</sup> I only want to refer to Ángel Amillo Gómez-Hortigüela, *El pensamiento filosófico de Juan Luis Vives. Contexto Socio-cultural, génesis y desarrollo*, Pensamiento y Sociedad, 21 (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1998), pp. 215-293 and to Cesare Vasoli, 'La concezione filosofica in Vives', in Francisco J. F. Nieto - Antonio Melero Bellido - Antonio Mestre Sanchis (eds), *Luis Vives y el humanismo Europeo* (València: Universitat de València, 1998), pp. 117-129, who, however, limits himself especially to Vives's conception of logic.



into a utopian, other-worldly reasoning. The wisdom aspired to has not to be understood in an Aristotelian, encyclopaedic sense, but as immediately pertaining to man as a moral creature. By now, we can understand Vives's interest in man's *actus* and achievements, and why he thinks of the third stage, which he describes quite extensively, as being really praiseworthy.<sup>70</sup> Contrary to the view of Pico, the field of ethics in no sense is subordinate to the field of metaphysics.<sup>71</sup>

#### 4. On man and men

In the letter of dedication to Antoon van Bergen, Vives wrote that his *Fabula de homine* is nothing other than a fable *de mundana scena*. As he himself added, it is an old theme, about which interesting things have been and still can be said, apart from all the *nugae* it contains. The comparison of the world with a stage is, indeed, an old *topos* which has its roots in ancient Greek philosophy, but of which the precise origin could not be retrieved.<sup>72</sup> The first full account of it can be found in the *Laws* of Plato. The stage metaphor *de facto* is mostly used in two different, yet related contexts. On the one hand, it serves to make it clear that certain aspects of (human) life are rather trivial. On the other hand, the metaphor is meant to hold up a positive mirror that could and should be followed. From Vives's text it has become clear that the *Fabula*, in which the stage metaphor is maintained from the beginning to the end, has to be situated in the second category.<sup>73</sup> This becomes even clearer from the words in the dedicatory letter. Vives wants to bring to our notice the worthlessness of all things we are eagerly pursuing like blind madmen. All things in human life — *virtus* excepted — are *ridicula*, just like certain children's games, and will

<sup>70</sup> Pico does not mention the man who is able and responsible to live with others in a community, as is touched upon slightly by August Buck, 'Einleitung. Der Begriff der Menschenwürde im Denken der Renaissance, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Giannozzo Manetti', in *Giannozzo Manetti, Über die Würde und Erhabenheit des Menschen*. Übersetzt von Hartmut Leppin. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von August Buck, Philosophische Bibliothek, 426 (Hamburg: Felix Meier, 1990), pp. VII-XXXIV (p. XXVIII).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Colish, 'The Mime of God', p. 20.

<sup>72</sup> A good, general outline is given by Christian, *Theatrum Mundi*.

<sup>73</sup> Pico also used the stage metaphor to elucidate the core of his ideas. Yet, it is only a small part of the *Oratio*. After presenting his views on human dignity in the form of a myth, totally understood in terms of the stage metaphor, he himself explains and elaborates that vision.

suddenly vanish as *inania*.<sup>74</sup> The argument is all the more interesting as we remember that man has to play the principal parts (*primae partes*).

Although Vives consciously chose the form of a fable to make his views understandable, even for young people, this literary form also complicates the interpretation. Besides the Christian frame of reference that had to be made explicit, the reading of the *Fabula* leaves the reader behind with some questions and vagueness. Moreover, it remains to be seen whether Vives's intention becomes clear. What does he mean exactly by setting in opposition *ridicula* and *inania* against *virtus*? It is not as easy to find an answer to these questions, as it may seem at first sight.

We need to take into account a crucial passage in the beginning of the *Fabula*, that gives rise to certain difficulties. Just before the actors come on stage, when they hear Jupiter's voice, Vives notices: 'Ac ne quis aliter quam sibi [= Iovi] placeret, ageret, ordinem seriemque ludorum omnium histrico gregi praescripsit, a qua ne digitum quidem, ut aiunt, transversum abscederent' (p. 3). More precisely, we can focus our attention on (the meaning of) only two words: what does the author mean by the *ordo seriesque*? The import of these words is crucial, as they define man's liberty. When we understand them in a strict sense and interpret the *quis* of the quoted passage as diverse individuals of different *genera*,<sup>75</sup> the liberty of man emerges as very limited.<sup>76</sup> In this case, the *ordo seriesque* is a program of which Jupiter has arranged even the smallest details. Although man is a splendid actor, able to play every part in an astonishing way, he may not *choose* which part he wants to play. Jupiter is the supreme orchestrator leading the plays and ordaining which part every actor has to take. At this moment I have to recall another important passage. When the gods ask Jupiter to call man off the stage and give him a seat among the divine spectators, Vives tells us that Jupiter not only agrees to this, but that he has already decided before to grant man this

<sup>74</sup> See *Juan Luis Vives* (= ed. Maianus), p. 2 (letter of dedication): 'Etenim illud nobis, si paullo altius animum ipsum cogitatione erigere volumus, ostendere vilitatem istarum rerum, quas ingenti cum labore anxii sollicitique, caeci atque dementes quaerimus, et subinde admonere meliora potest. Omnia enim quae sunt in humana vita, praeter virtutem, tamquam pueriles quidam lusus ridicula sunt, ac subito utpote inania evanescent'.

<sup>75</sup> This interpretation could be strengthened by the enumeration of the various animals which could suggest that there is more than one human actor. Next to this, Vives speaks of man in the next stage as someone living *cum aliis*. As such, we spontaneously could think of different human actors.

<sup>76</sup> The limited freedom of man has been mentioned e.g. by Colish, 'The Mime of God', p. 9; Neumeister, 'Noch einmal zur *Fabula de homine*', p. 180 and 182; Fantazzi, 'Vives' *Fabula de homine*', p. 16.

divine honour.<sup>77</sup> Yet, when embedded in the wider pedagogical program and anthropological views of the Spaniard, this interpretation of a very strictly circumscribed liberty is hardly sustainable.<sup>78</sup> After all, this would mean that God himself has elected in advance some people to participate in heavenly bliss, whereas others are condemned to a vegetable or bestial life. If this were true, every educational system would have no sense, as every man is condemned to a certain way of living. However, the primary goal of Vives's pedagogical project was not so much to make man wiser, as better.<sup>79</sup> The character of his philosophy and pedagogy is fundamentally ethical. The supreme good entails 'la elevación y dignificación del hombre, de todos hombres'.<sup>80</sup>

As regards the problem of liberty, one could ask oneself if man is able to play only one part. Or is it possible to take on various parts during lifetime? Who will be admitted to the ranks of the gods: every man or only he who knows how to act as Jupiter? What about man performing the role that represents the defining characteristics of a true human being and that moved the gods to admiration? Is he granted a place among the divine spectators? Connected to this issue is the question whether man as such could be called praiseworthy. The entire interpretation depends on the understanding of the words *ordo seriesque*. Do they denote the sequel of the parts of the different actors, each one representing a *genus*, viz. plant, animal, man,...? In this sense man (with his diverse parts) has a certain position after the parts of the animals and before those of the angels. On the other hand, the *ordo seriesque* could also refer to the precise filling-in of the part(s) one actor has to take. In this construction it is the supreme deity who, in the case of man, has prescribed the sequence of the various roles of man. He has determined that the part of an animal would

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 6: 'Concessit Iupiter diis, quod ipse ultro multo antea suo homini deferendum statuerat. Ita evocatus a scena homo'.

<sup>78</sup> For Vives's views on education see i.a. Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives*, International Archives of The History of Ideas, 34 (Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970); Valerio Del Nero, 'Pedagogia e psicologia nel pensiero di Vives', in Mestre (ed.), *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini opera omnia*, I, 179-216. For his views on the education of girls, more specifically, see Jan Papy, 'Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) on the Education of Girls. An Investigation into his Medieval and Spanish Sources', *Paedagogica Historica*, 31 (1995), 739-765.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Vives, *De tradendis disciplinis*, 2, 2, 2: 'Litterarum finem esse ut sapientior fiat iuvenis, ac inde melior'. Cited in Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives*, p. 180, note 2 (= ed. Maianus, VI, 278).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Joaquín Xirau, *El pensamiento vivo de Juan Luis Vives*, Biblioteca del pensamiento vivo, 31 (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1944), pp. 35-36 cited by Gómez-Hortigüela, *El pensamiento filosófico*, p. 224.

come after that of the plant, and the part of true human being would follow that of the animal, and so forth.

In order to find a possible answer to these questions, I shall take into account the dedicatory letter. A meticulous reading of this letter reveals that Vives is speaking of man at a different level from that suggested by the text of the fable itself.<sup>81</sup> Whereas the *Fabula* is a fable of man in general (it is a fable *de homine*, not *de hominibus*), the dedicatory letter refers to man as an individual — the letter is addressed to a young nobleman. This difference in ‘number’ could contain a possible solution. When reading the *Fabula*, we are dealing with man as one of the actors who has his part on this worldly stage. However, when compared to the other actors, man is the only actor who is able to bring the divine spectators to admiration because of his marvellous performance. Man is the only actor who has the capacities to play the part of an inanimate plant up to that of Jupiter himself. His acting as a true human being — i.e. his performance of the defining characteristics of a true human being — moves the gods so much that they do not expect to see him in another shape. When man reappears, now shaped as one of them, the gods eagerly ask Juno not to allow man to play any longer. Before she could suggest this to her husband, man comes on the stage, splendidly imitating the supreme god himself. All the gods repeat their request and man is admitted to the ranks of the gods. So, the more man rises in the hierarchical order, the greater the admiration of the gods and the stronger their request to receive this remarkable actor. Once more, on the level of the *Fabula* when speaking of the actor ‘man’, we are speaking of man in general.

On the other hand, in the letter of dedication Vives addresses himself to a particular person. He offers Antoon van Bergen a fable about the world-stage in order to present to him a mirror upon which he can and even should model himself. The young nobleman has to realize that among all the actors, among the creatures, man has a privileged position. Of all the actors he is the only one who is granted a seat with the gods. To reach, however, that exceptional position he has to make use of all his (divine) qualities and perform in the best way.<sup>82</sup> As such, the dedicatory letter clearly has an exhortative function: Antoon van Bergen — and with

<sup>81</sup> For this distinction I am indebted to the remarks of Prof. Dr Toon Van Houdt.

<sup>82</sup> As such, Colish, ‘The Mime of God’, p. 10 is not entirely correct when she states that man is called from stage ‘less because of the virtuosity of his performance than because Jupiter has previously decided to extend it out of his gratuitous beneficence [*sic*]’. Although Jupiter has decided to receive man (in general) in heaven, any individual has to prove himself worthy of this divine grant.

him all other individuals — are called on to play the highest possible part, viz. that of Jupiter, God himself. By now it has also become clear what Vives means by the concept of *virtus* in his letter. All worldly things will suddenly disappear like children's games, with the exception of *virtus*. So, if man wants to escape the process of evanescence, he has to exploit all his qualities, which consist of his divine nature and his divine mask (body), in order to be received by the gods, i.e., to be raised from the dead in heaven. Because life in heaven is full life and all worldly things are transitory, the gods, astonished by the splendid performance of man, deem it unworthy of their privileged actor to have appeared on the stage and to have practised the disreputable art of theatre.<sup>83</sup> Anyone who is under the spell of the *inania*, eager to reach them, is chasing after illusions and neglects his nature which is akin to that of Jupiter. In opposition to the *vanitas* of worldly life, Vives presents an extraordinary apotheosis: being received at the table of the gods. The actor can thus become a spectator. By now, the following words of the dedicatory letter have also become clear: 'mundana scena in qua *suam unaquaeque* rerum personam agit' (pp.1-2; my italics). Man's role is not that of an animal or a plant, but that of a true human being, and even that of an angel or God himself.

If my interpretation of the *Fabula de homine* is correct, some aspects of Vives's views on the dignity of man are quite similar to those expressed by Pico in his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*. Both humanists think of human nature in terms of changeability that enables man to perform nearly every part, from that of a plant to that of God. If my interpretation of the *Fabula* is right, Pico, as well as Vives, stresses the fact that man has the capacity and the freedom to choose the part he wants to play.<sup>84</sup> Apart from this, there also are some differences in their respective presentations of the *dignitas hominis*. Vives underlines, far more than Pico does, the high quality of the performance and the divine nature of

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Vives, *Fabula*, p. 7: 'Indignum iudicarunt qui in scenam unquam prodiisset ludicramque exercuisset artem infamem'. On Vives's (negative) views on drama in general see Howard B. Norland, 'Vives' Critical View of Drama', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1981), 93-107.

<sup>84</sup> Much has been said about the concept of liberty in Pico's *Oratio*. I especially mention the recent study of Brian P. Copenhaver, 'Magic and the Dignity of Man: De-Kanting Pico's *Oration*', in Allen J. Grieco – Michael Rocke – Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (eds), *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century. Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9-11, 1999*, Villa I Tatti: The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, 19 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2002), pp. 295-320 (299-311). The similarity between Vives and Pico as regards the concept of liberty has been touched upon by e.g. Senger, *Ludus Sapientiae*, p. 369 and Buck, 'Einleitung. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola', p. XXVI.

man, as this appears both in man's naked nature and in his mask (i.e. his body). In line with his philosophy, he pays attention to the build of the body and the various accomplishments of man. In Pico's *Oratio*, God is deemed to have shaped man in order for him to ponder the meaning of His creation, to love its beauty, and to wonder at its vastness.<sup>85</sup> If man wants to fulfil this task and really wants to deserve his name, he has to aim for a godly life and to devote himself entirely to a life of contemplation. As I have already stated, Vives emphasizes far more the 'active' life. Man is incited to be a true human being, someone who deserves the name 'man', rather than someone who is living according to his (disreputable) passions, as an animal does.

By now, I hope to have made clear the peculiar character of Vives's *Fabula de homine*. Whereas the overview of its genesis has brought to light some important sources, the analysis of the literary genre and the rhetorical strategies applied by Vives offers substantial elements for understanding the fable. Above all, this analysis has pointed to the pedagogical concerns which underlay his text. The detailed investigation of the nature and the accomplishments of man has revealed Vives's conception of the *dignitas hominis*. While his views about the liberty of man seem to correspond to those expressed by Giovanni Pico in his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, his vision clearly resembles his concern for the ethical aspects of daily, practical life. The *vita activa* is more important than the *vita contemplativa*. Nevertheless, apart from the meaning of the *ordo seriesque*, one important question remains after reading the *Fabula* (and its dedicatory letter). Although Vives paid much attention to man's performance of a true human being, it does not become clear whether this man is also granted a seat among the gods. The fable does not drop its literary mask that easily.

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<sup>85</sup> Cf. Pico, *Oratio*, p. 4: 'Sed, opere consumato, desiderabat artifex esse aliquem qui tanti operis rationem perpenderet, pulchritudinem amaret, magnitudinem admiraretur'.

Françoise FERY-HUE

UNE ŒUVRE INCONNUE DE GEORGES D'HALLUIN:  
LE LIVRE DE TOUTZ LANGAIGES

À la mémoire de Jacques Monfrin († 1998) et de  
Constant Matheeußen († 2002)

Dans les fonds anciens des bibliothèques publiques de France, les livres manuscrits de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> ou du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle passent volontiers pour des ‘parents pauvres’ au regard des volumes strictement médiévaux. Sur papier pour une écrasante majorité, copiés dans des écritures cursives très ‘personnelles’, le plus souvent sans décor et dépourvus de tout luxe dans leur mise en page comme dans leur reliure, ils n’attirent pas facilement l’attention des lecteurs. Leur apparente rusticité les fait considérer comme des ‘volumes d’usage’, dont la consultation serait réservée à de rares spécialistes. Cependant, ces volumes facilement dédaignés recèlent des richesses insoupçonnées et offrent la possibilité de découvrir des œuvres inconnues.

D’allure anodine, le manuscrit 204 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Soissons n’a guère suscité l’intérêt des philologues: il est aujourd’hui conservé dans une demi-reliure de basane brune et papier rose, qui n’est pas antérieure au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>1</sup> Comptant 130 feuillets de papier de grand format (276 x 206 mm), il offre un contenu exclusivement français, puisqu’il rassemble deux collections lyriques, une épître allégorique et politique en vers, un poème de géographie politique dû à Pierre Gringore

<sup>1</sup> Voir Anne Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l’ordre de Prémontré dans la France d’Ancien régime, I. Répertoire des abbayes, II. Édition des inventaires*, Documents, Études et répertoires, 58, 2 vols (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 2006), I, 235, n. 2. À propos du papier des gardes de ce manuscrit de Soissons, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 204, Anne Bondéelle-Souchier remarque que son filigrane est rattaché aux filigranes aux armes de Séguier par Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: CNRS éditions: J. Telford, 1995), p. 95 et que ce type se rencontre à partir de 1736 et jusqu’à la fin du siècle: cette identification du filigrane est inexacte.

et un curieux traité en prose sur l'enseignement des langues. Ce dernier texte, anonyme, non daté, se révélera au fil de la lecture l'œuvre — ignorée jusqu'ici — d'un humaniste connu par ailleurs et dont ce texte mettra en lumière le rayonnement intellectuel.

Le manuscrit 204 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Soissons réunit dix cahiers, dépourvus de signatures et de réclames, et dont la composition varie beaucoup: un premier sénion (cahier 1), amputé de son dernier feuillet mais sans lacune textuelle, est suivi par un quinion (cahier 2), deux sénions (cahiers 3 et 4), puis un cahier très épais de 24 feuillets (cahier 5), à nouveau un quinion (cahier 6), puis un cahier de 4 feuillets — donc beaucoup plus mince — (cahier 7), un quaternion (cahier 8), puis à nouveau un cahier très épais comptant 20 feuillets (cahier 9) et un dernier cahier (cahier 10) de composition analogue — 20 feuillets —, dont le dernier feuillet a été coupé sans entraîner de perte de texte.

Ce volume est muni en tête d'une contre-garde collée, en papier reliure, suivie de deux gardes volantes de papier blanc, et, à la fin, d'une seule garde volante du même papier blanc, suivie d'une contre-garde collée, en papier reliure. Le papier de ces gardes modernes est blanc, d'épaisseur moyenne, de pliage in-folio et présente des vergeures horizontales moyennes (20 vergeures = 20 mm) et des fils de chaînette verticaux espacés de 22 mm. Il a pour filigrane, traversé par deux fils de chaînettes, un cartouche monogrammé avec les lettres CD, surmonté d'une couronne ouverte et flanqué de sortes de fleurs de lis (hauteur: 30 mm; largeur: 32 mm): il ne figure pas dans le répertoire de Briquet.<sup>2</sup>

Outre le papier des gardes, le manuscrit réunit trois papiers différents, tous du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle:

- le premier papier (ff. 1-69, 74-75, 80 et 83, 84-91: donc la totalité des cahiers 1 à 5 et du cahier 8, et une partie des cahiers 6 et 7) est

<sup>2</sup> Voir Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier: dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600...*, *New jubilee edition with supplementary material*, ed. by John Simon Gabriel Simmons and Allan Stevenson, 4 vols (Amsterdam: Paper publications society, 1968). Il ne figure pas davantage dans les répertoires Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques*; William Algeron Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935); Thomas L. Gravell et George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks found on Paper used in America (1700-1835)*, Garland reference library of the humanities, 318 (New York - London: Garland, 1983); Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, *Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia, or Collection of works and documents illustrating the history of paper*, 1 (Hilversum: Paper publications society, 1950).



- d'épaisseur moyenne, de pliage in-folio et présente des vergeures moyennes (20 vergeures = 20 mm), parallèles aux lignes d'écriture, et des fils de chaînette verticaux espacés de 22 mm. Il a pour filigrane, situé entre deux fils de chaînettes, un pot (hauteur: 54 mm; largeur: 18 mm) très proche du n° 12626 du répertoire de Briquet<sup>3</sup>, qui est signalé à Troyes en 1500, avec des variantes identiques à Nancy, Vaudrevange, Sens, Toucy et Douai entre 1500 et 1505.
- le deuxième papier (ff. 70-73, 76-79, 81 et 82, qui constituent la majeure partie du cahier 6 et la moitié du 7) est d'épaisseur moyenne, de pliage in-folio également, mais présente des vergeures fines (20 vergeures = 16 mm), parallèles aux lignes d'écriture, et des fils de chaînette verticaux espacés de 24 mm. Son filigrane (hauteur: 45 mm; largeur: 30 mm), traversé par un fil de chaînette, représente un chien courant, muni d'un collier: inconnu du répertoire de Briquet, ce motif, d'origine italienne, est proche du n° VII-1314 de Piccard<sup>4</sup>, qui est attesté à Florence en 1496.
  - le troisième papier (ff. 92-130; donc les seuls cahiers 9 et 10) est d'épaisseur moyenne, de pliage in-folio également, et présente aussi des vergeures moyennes (20 vergeures = 19 mm), parallèles aux lignes d'écriture, et des fils de chaînette verticaux espacés de 21 ± 1 mm; son filigrane (hauteur: 88 mm; largeur: 40 mm; traversé par deux fils de chaînette) est aux armoiries de la ville de Troyes, identique au n° 1049 du répertoire de Briquet<sup>5</sup>, signalé à Bruges en 1530, avec une variante identique à Middelburg en 1537.

Cinq copistes anonymes, tous de la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ont successivement collaboré dans ce volume, pour transcrire cinq œuvres françaises différentes:

- un *Florilège poétique* (ff. 1r-21r), série de 69 rondeaux indépendants les uns des autres: travail du premier copiste;
- le *Livre des trois dames*, ou *Livre du songe des trois dames* (ff. 22r-51v), sorte d'épître allégorique et politique anonyme en vers: transcrite par le deuxième (ff. 22r-47r) puis par le troisième copiste (ff. 47v-51v). Le texte a été relu très tôt après sa copie, car des vers omis ont été ajoutés par le deuxième copiste dans sa partie, puis par

<sup>3</sup> Voir Briquet, *Les filigranes*, IV.

<sup>4</sup> Voir Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen verschiedene Vierfüßler*, Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Findbuch, 15, 3 vols (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1987), III, n° VII-1314.

<sup>5</sup> Voir Briquet, *Les filigranes*, I.

- le troisième copiste, également dans sa partie. Le titre présent dans la marge de tête est devenu illisible, cette marge ayant été sévèrement rognée au moment de la reliure. On devine encore: 'Livre de' et une allusion du prologue (f. 22r) permet de rétablir soit *Livre des trois dames*, soit *Livre du songe des trois dames*. La langue est dite 'hannuyère ou flamengue' (f. 51v). Le poème, anonyme<sup>6</sup>, a nécessairement été écrit après la prise de Tournai par le roi d'Angleterre Henri VIII (f. 31r-v) le 23 septembre 1513.
- les *Cent cinq rondeaux d'amour*<sup>7</sup> (ff. 52r-83r), sorte de roman anonyme constitué par un échange de rondeaux cinquains: œuvre du troisième copiste.
  - l'*Entreprise de Venise* (ff. 85r-91r), composée en 1509 par Pierre Gringore: transcrite par le quatrième copiste d'après une édition imprimée, car les ff. 90v-91r reproduisent le privilège 'Il est dictz par ordonnance de justice / que nul ne pourra imprimer ne vendre / ce present traictie fors ceulx à qui piere / gregoire acteur et compositeur dicelluy / les baillera et distribura et ce sur / paine de confiscation desditz livres / imprimez et amande arbitraire jusques / apres le jour de Pasques prochainement venant' qui est celui de la première édition.<sup>8</sup>
  - le *Livre de toutz langaiges* (ff. 92r-130v), traité anonyme sur l'enseignement des langues: œuvre d'un cinquième copiste.

Cette dernière œuvre, sans nom d'auteur ni date, et apparemment jamais éditée, mérite que l'on s'y arrête plus longuement.

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<sup>6</sup> Diverses attributions sont envisageables: le diplomate Laurent de Gorrevod, qui participa, comme envoyé de Marguerite d'Autriche à l'empereur Maximilien son père, à l'expédition anglo-bourguignonne d'août 1513 contre Théroouanne, ou Antoine I<sup>er</sup> de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny, familier de l'archiduc Philippe le Beau et de l'archiduc Charles. Aucun indice probant ne se dégage encore.

<sup>7</sup> Je prépare actuellement l'édition de ces *Cent cinq rondeaux d'amour*, le présent témoin (siglé s) devant servir de manuscrit de base.

<sup>8</sup> Cette édition imprimée (Paris, BnF, Rés. Ye 4108. S.l.n.d. [Paris, pour Pierre Gringore, mars-avril 1509] 8 ff. à 1 col. de 21 ll., in-8°) sert de base à l'édition critique du texte par Cynthia J. Brown, *Pierre Gringore, Œuvres polémiques rédigées sous le règne de Louis XII*, Textes Littéraires Français, 556 (Genève: Droz, 2003), pp. 123-151 et serait, selon l'éditrice (*ibid.*, p. 135) antérieure au 2 avril 1509. Le texte conservé par le manuscrit de Soissons, BM, ms. 204, ff. 85r-91r présente des variantes proches de celles d'une autre édition imprimée, légèrement postérieure à la première: Paris, BnF, Rothschild 2823. S.l.n.d. [Paris, Jean Trepperel, après le 9 avril 1509] 8 ff. à 1 col. de 23 ll., in-8°, A<sup>1</sup>-A<sup>8</sup> (voir Brown, *Pierre Gringore*, p. 131).

Le *Livre de toutz langaiges* traite de l'enseignement des langues, et particulièrement du latin, aux enfants par la méthode directe, c'est-à-dire sans grammaire. Son titre est donné au f. 92r: 'S'ensuyt ung livre appell[é] le *Livre de toutz langaiges*'.

Le long prologue<sup>9</sup> débute par une dédicace:

Treshault, trespuissant et victorieux Empereur, je vostre humble subject et serviteur, comme en mon jeune temps aye tousjours aymé les lettres et les livres, à cause que je y trouvoye en escript la declaration des choses avenues depuis le commencement du monde, pour ce me suys mis et tousjours continue à lire tous livres en franchois, en flamen et en latin et aultres langaiges divers que, par usance, j'avoye apprins en faisant plusieurs voyages en plusieurs pays (...) jusques à mon eage de quarante ans ou environ aussy [f. 92v] bien en cheminant par pays que estant en repos (...) car j'avoye expérimenté que moy et mes serviteurs, et mes paiges avec, avions apprins plusieurs langaiges bien rudes et difficiles en deux ou trois ans seulement par ruse et costume de parler, sans nul maistre d'escole...

Ce prologue se termine par:

... ce que doint Dieu le père, le Filz et le [f. 96v] Saint Esprit quy est le vray patron de la[ ] et bien parler, ce quy apparut par le mistere des langues de feu qu'il envoya aux apostres après la mort de Jesuchrist, quy s'appelle le mistere de la Penthecouste, comme il est escript ès Actes des apostres, par lequel mistère les fist sy grans orateurs et bien parlans que eulx douze tant seullement convertirent la pluspart de tout le monde à la foy chrestienne ainsy que contiennent les histoires.

La fin du prologue reprend ainsi une allusion presque obligée à la Pentecôte.<sup>10</sup>

Le traité est divisé en seize chapitres. Le premier chapitre<sup>11</sup> reprend les théories anti-grammaticales exposées par le prologue, avec force références à Quintilien et à Cicéron. L'auteur fait aussi mine de s'étonner: 'je ne me sçay assez esbahir comment ceulx quy aiment les lettres et les sciences et la langue latine peuvent encoire suyvre cest art de Grammaire, ayant [f. 99v] leut ces sentences du prince de l'eloquence, Tulle Cicero'.

<sup>9</sup> Sur les ff. 92r à 96v.

<sup>10</sup> Voir Jean Céard, 'De Babel à la Pentecôte. La transformation du Mythe de la confusion des langues', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 42 (1980), 578-594.

<sup>11</sup> Intitulé 'Le premier chapitre de ce livre appellé de tous langaiges. Comment c'est grand abuz d'apprendre la langue latine par l'art de Grammaire', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 96v à 100r.

Dans le deuxième chapitre<sup>12</sup>, l'auteur réaffirme ses théories anti-grammaticales:

Pour ce que j'ay nommé ce livre le *Livre de toutz langaiges* à intention de monstrier la manière pour plus facilement apprendre à parler toutz langaiges, et singulierement le latin, auquel y a plus de faulte et d'abbus que à toutz les aultres comme j'ay dit, en ce chapitre je parleray de la nature de toutz langaiges pour mieulx approuver encon[tre] le grand abus de cest art de Grammaire (...) tous les aultres langaiges [autres que le latin] ne sont appris que par usance et accoustumance (...) [f. 101r] (...) en chascun langaige on parle par le jugement des oreilles, c'est-à-dire que l'on prend les motz plus faciles en pronunchant et les plus plaisantz à l'oreille à les ouyr parler, et che que l'on treuve dur à pronunchier et à ouyr, on le reboutte par nature en chascun langaige.

L'auteur se fonde, dans le troisième chapitre<sup>13</sup>, sur l'*Institution oratoire* de Quintilien pour démontrer que le latin est une langue comme les autres et doit être enseignée de la même façon:

[f. 102v] Quintilian absout ceste choze quant il dit en son premier livre au chapitre de Grammaire: "*Analogie ou Grammaire n'est pas venue ne envoyée du ciel pour donner la fourme et manière de parler au premier temps que les hommes furent créés, mais a esté trouvée après qu'ilz parloyent et a esté noté et myz en mémoire quant ilz parloyent*" (...) et sy n'y a aulcune loy de parler sinon d'observer comment les aultres parlent, tellement que nulle aultre chose n'a faict Analogie ou Grammaire sinon la costume de parler (...) [f. 103r] (...) entent et demonstre Quintilian que la langue latine est de telle nature et se doibt parler ainsy que les aultres langaiges, c'est-à-dire non point par art, par rigles ou par aulcunes raisons, mais par la costume [f. 103v] de ceulx qui sont estimez les mieulx parlans en chascun langaige (...). Ainsy donc pour toute conclusion appert par raisons et auctoritez des anciens latins et Romains que la langue latine et le langaige latin est de toute telle et mesme nature que les aultres langaiges et se doibt apprendre de la mesme sorte.

Le quatrième chapitre<sup>14</sup> expose la méthode préconisée par l'auteur pour l'apprentissage des langues par la conversation, la copie de textes, la rédaction et la relecture:

[f. 105r] (...) si ung franchois veult apprendre le langaige flameng, il fault qu'il cherche quelc'un quy bien sçache les deux langaiges, le franchois et

<sup>12</sup> Intitulé 'Le second chapitre. De la nature de toulz langaiges', ce chapitre est copié sur les ff. 100r à 102r.

<sup>13</sup> Intitulé 'Le tiers chapitre. De la nature de la langue latine', ce chapitre figure sur les ff. 102r à 103v.

<sup>14</sup> Intitulé 'Le quart chapitre. Comment on pourra mieulx et plus tost apprendre toutz langaiges du monde', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 104r à 106v.

le flameng, et prie celluy qu'il luy veuille tourner et translater icelles mesmes epistres et lettres en flameng, et puis les rescrire en son livre qu'il fera à ce propos (...) [f. 106r] (...) et encoire pour mieulx apprendre à parler promptement seroit bon que deux ensamble fussent d'accordz d'apprendre ung mesme langaige affin qu'ilz s'accoustumassent de parler ensemble ce langaige (...) et feroient leur epistre selon ce, car il ne suffiroit point d'escrire ledit langaige sans le parler: ainsy poroit on apprendre à escrire et à parler promptement. Mais d'estre plus de deux ne me samble point bon, car plus y en a et mains s'accordent ou empechent l'ung l'autre.

Au contact d'un enseignant bilingue, les élèves composent eux-mêmes leur propre manuel à partir des exercices qu'ils font.

D'après le cinquième chapitre<sup>15</sup>, l'apprentissage spécifique du latin, qui ne peut se faire par la conversation, doit se fonder sur la lecture et l'imitation des bons auteurs, c'est-à-dire des auteurs latins antérieurs au règne de Constantin:

[après l'arrivée des Barbares en Italie] ne demoura que les prestres quy ne parloyent que le latin grammairien et non pas romain. [f. 108r] Ainsy demoura le vray latin derriere et ne parloit on à Romme que latin grammairien, et encoire fust ce latin entremeslé de ces langaiges estranges et divers, dont s'ourdit ung aultre langaige entre le peuple, qu'on appelle maintenant italien quy n'est aultre choze que latin corrompu (...). Pour ramener ledit bon latin anchien, il le fault apprendre de la sorte des [f. 108v] aultres langaiges par usance et accoustumance, et ne parler plus de l'art de Grammaire, ou aultrement n'est possible (...). Fault que ceulx quy voudront apprendre le latin fachtent des epistres et lettres en leur langaige propre (...) et puis chercheront quelque personnage quy sçace bien le latin et aussy leur propre langaige, et feront tant que celui tourne et translate icelles epistres en bon latin des anchiens romains Tulle Cicero, Caton, Cesar et aultres, et à ceste cause j'ay faict ung livret hors des *Epistres* de Tulle Cicero, hors desquelles [f. 109r] j'ay prins et rassamblé toutes les sentences et propos quy pourront servir aux epistres de cestuy temps present (...) dont celluy quy apprendra les aultres ce langaige latin prendra les sentences de ce livret (...) et par icelles tournera les aultres en ce latin de mot à mot: lors sera asseuré qu'il les fera en bon latin romain (...) [f. 109v] (...) et leur fera faire toujours nouvelles epistres et de divers propos, puis les tournera en bon latin romain qu'il cherchera premier en ce livret des *Epistres* de Tulle Cicero, et puis en Tyte Lyve, Saluste, Valere et aultres de ce temps là, devant le temps de l'empereur Constantin le Grandt (...), mais ne prengne pas ce latin hors des livres de ceulx qui ont esté depuis le temps de Constantin, car depuis la langue latine des vieulx romains a tousjours esté corrompue de plus en plus par l'art de Grammaire.

<sup>15</sup> Intitulé 'Le cincquiesme chapitre. Comment on poroit plus tost apprendre le langaige latin', ce chapitre est copié sur les ff. 106v à 110r.

Dans le sixième chapitre<sup>16</sup>, l'auteur retrace l'abandon du latin des Romains au profit du latin des grammairiens et la manière dont la grammaire — à l'instar des arts magiques et divinatoires — a abusé les meilleurs esprits :

Premierement là où il y a ordre, rigles et raisons, il peult sambler que c'est la plus seure voye de toutes aultres (...) [f. 110v] (...) mais il ne sera jamais trouvé que les nouveaulx romains creurent en ces livres ne accepterent cest art de Grammaire, mais escrirent contre icelle, disantz qu'elle n'estoit ne seure ne utile, et que ne servoit de riens pour apprendre le vray latin des romains (...) [f. 112r] (...) car, comme a dit Quintilian, ceulx qui en cest art sont les plus soutilz et diligens, ceulx sont les plus trompez et abusez, et tant plus trompent et abusent les aultres.

Le septième chapitre<sup>17</sup> traite, avec une modernité surprenante, de la nécessité pour le maître de s'adapter à l'âge, aux capacités et aux goûts de son élève, tout en lui faisant pratiquer régulièrement des exercices de thème par imitation des auteurs latins 'classiques' :

La première raison, c'est pour ce que les maistres d'escole leur apprennent choses obscures et difficiles, lesquelles les enfans ne peuvent comprendre pour leur jeune eage, comme l'art de Grammaire (...), l'art de Logycque, l'art de Physicque et Metaphisycque qui sont encoire plus difficiles et obscures. (...) [f. 114v] (...). La seconde raison qu'on leur apprend ces ars avant qu'ilz sçacent parler le latin, parquoy vaudroit beaucoup mieulx de leur bien apprendre le latin premier que d'apprendre icelles ars (...). La troiziesme raison pour ce que les maistres d'escole apprennent toutz enfans d'une mesme sorte et leur donnent une mesme lechon sans regarder à leur inclination (...). La quatresme raison, c'est pour ce que ilz ne font point escrire leurs enfans escoliers des espistres [f. 115r] assez longuement, car puis qu'on ne peult ouyr parler les anciens latins, il reste de tirer la langue latine hors de leurs livres et de mot à mot les ensuyvre (...). La cinquiesme raison pour ce que, quand ilz veulent tourner quelque sentence, matière ou epistre du commun langaige en latin, ilz ne le tournent pas pour l'ordre des anciens romains comme ilz parloyent et [f. 115v] escrivoient du temps de Tullies Cicero, de Cesar et de Caton, mais les composent selon l'art de Grammaire et selon l'ordre de leur langaige maternel (...) parquoy leur latin n'est ne plaisant ne elegant.

<sup>16</sup> Intitulé 'Le sixiesme chapitre. Comment l'art de Grammaire a trompé le peuple par ses raisons vraisemblables', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 110r à 113v.

<sup>17</sup> Intitulé 'Le septiesme chapitre. Pourquoi les enfans apprennent sy peu à l'escole et oublient sy tost qu'ilz ont apprins', ce chapitre figure sur les ff. 114r à 117r.

D'après le huitième chapitre<sup>18</sup>, l'apprentissage des langues doit débiter à l'âge de sept ans par la lecture et l'écriture de la langue maternelle.<sup>19</sup> L'auteur revient sur la nécessité d'intéresser l'élève en choisissant des sujets adaptés à son jeune âge:

(...) [f. 117v] ... Premièrement chascun scet que les enfans ne peuvent riens apprendre ne comprendre devant sept ans, mais aprez les sept ans leur fault commencer à apprendre à lire et escrire (...). Je treuve encoire ung abbys des maistres d'escoles, par lequel ilz reboutent les enfans de volentiers apprendre et y prendre plaisir, c'est pour ce qu'ilz leur donnent des matieres pour [f. 118r] lire et escrire quy sont de sens ou de devotion, que les enfans ne scevent entendre, pourquoy n'y prennent point de plaisir (...). Vouldroit mieulx de leur donner matieres joyeuses des chozes enfantines, dont ilz usent en celluy eage auquel ilz sont.

Dans le neuvième chapitre<sup>20</sup>, le programme d'apprentissage se poursuit par les premières traductions en latin et le recours aux morceaux choisis:

A huyt ans, je leur feroye commencer apprendre à escrire lettres et espistres, premier à leur père et mère et aultres leurs parens et amys (...) [f. 118v] et leur doibvent faire icelles lettres les maistres d'escole (...) en leur langaige maternel et de chozes joyeuses et enfantines selon leur eage (...) et puis le maistre d'escole tournera icelles epistres mesmes, commençant à la premiere, en bon latin romain, non point obscur ne difficile, mais du latin de Tulles Cicero hors de ses *Epistres familiares*, dont j'ay tiré les sentences quy servent à nostre maniere d'escrire aujourd'huy (...), puis les fera contreescrire à ses enfans jusques [f. 119r] à neuf ans en continuant diligemment, et n'y laissera nulles faultes sans les amender, ou autrement seroit peyne perdue.

Le dixième chapitre<sup>21</sup> traite de la neuvième année: 'A neuf ans, son maistre luy fera faire des aultres epistres et lettres des choses dont il aura usé toutz les jours en son propre langaige maternel (...)'. L'exercice doit porter sur le vocabulaire courant: 's'il a ouy ratz, sourryz ou aultre choze

<sup>18</sup> Intitulé 'Le huytiesme chapitre. Comment pour remettre sus la vraye langue latine l'on doibt apprendre les enfans d'an en an et premier de la septiesme année', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 117r à 118r.

<sup>19</sup> Déjà Isidore de Séville distinguait l'enfance (*infantia*) jusqu'à sept ans et la jeunesse (*pueritia*) de sept à quatorze ans. Avec la fin de l'enfance et le début de la jeunesse venait l'apprentissage de la lecture et de l'écriture: voir Pierre Riché et Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, *L'enfance au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Intitulé 'Le neufiesme chapitre. De la huytiesme année', ce chapitre figure sur les ff. 118r à 119r.

<sup>21</sup> Intitulé 'Le dixiesme chapitre. De la neufiesme année', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 119r à 120v.

ou grand vent ou grande pluye ou tonnoire', [f. 119v] 'comment il se vestira et nommera toutz ses vestemens depuis sa chemise', 'nommera toutes les viandes qu'il aura mengié et les beuvraiges qu'il aura beut, et toutes les choses qui seroient sur la table et sur le buffet, et aussi les instrumentz de la cuisine', 'nommera toutz les instrumentz [f. 120r] qui sont en iceulx jeux et passetemps [tir à l'arc, jeu de paume, chasse, pêche, capture d'oiseaux, canotage, équitation, promenade en voiture ou à pied]'. L'exercice doit être régulier: 'chascun jour de la sepmaine', durer toute l'année: 'ung an de long jusques à la dixiesme année' et être varié et quotidien: 'le maistre pourra ymaginer de toutes matières et de toutz propos, et ne laira nul jour passer que l'enfant ne face une epistre'. Ainsi le but sera atteint: [f. 120v] 'ilz prouffiteront ensemble tellement que le maistre et l'enfant parleront en quatre ans plus promptement et seurement le latin, et meilleur que les aultres enfans en vingt ans, et sans grandt peyne et sans nul rompement de teste'.

Dans le onzième chapitre<sup>22</sup>, les exercices de mémorisation puis de thème deviennent plus complexes:

A dix ans, le maistre leur lira ung petit livret que j'ay faict qui se nomme des *Questions pueriles*, qui est des questions des choses que les enfans ne peuvent sçavoir sans leur monstres, lequel livret leur declairera en leur langage maternel, et puis leur fera resumer le lendemain ce qu'ilz auront leu la première journée et le redire par cœur aussy bien en leur langage maternel qu'en latin (...) mais, pour ce qu'en ce dit livret ne prendront guerres de plaisir pour leur grand jeunesse, il les y fault attirer par beau parler et par petitiz dons selon leur age et leur inclination.

D'après le douzième chapitre<sup>23</sup>: 'A la unzième année, le maistre leur fera encoire escrire des espistres, premierement en leur langage maternel, et aprez en bon latin (...)'. L'exercice porte sur des lettres à écrire dans les deux langues, et censément destinées au pape, aux cardinaux, à des abbés, à l'empereur, à un prince, à un comte, à des marchands, [f. 122r] 'aux bourgeois et gens de mestier', 'aux maistres en ars [f. 122v], docteurs, theologiens, medecins et legistes ou juristes', 'aux gens de court, seigneurs, gentilz hommes et officiers, laquais, paiges', 'aussy aux dames et aultres femmes'. La rédaction est toujours accompagnée d'un thème latin, et le vocabulaire s'enrichit et se diversifie dans les deux langues.

<sup>22</sup> Intitulé 'Le unzième chapitre. De la dixiesme année', ce chapitre est copié sur le f. 121r-v.

<sup>23</sup> Intitulé 'Le douzième chapitre. De la unzième année', ce chapitre va du f. 121v au f. 122v.



Le treizième chapitre<sup>24</sup> est consacré aux enfants de douze ans et marque une étape importante dans l'apprentissage des langues. Aux élèves parvenus à cet âge, l'auteur, qui affirme: 'A la douziesme année, ces enfans seront pretz pour apprendre toutes les ars du monde ou choisir celle qu'ilz voudront et desireront', donne pour modèle la grande culture et la polyvalence des anciens romains, en particulier Jules César, Cicéron et surtout Pline l'Ancien, couramment présenté comme un auteur dont le style est fortement recommandé: [f. 123r] 'quy fut lieutenant general de l'empereur Vespasien, lequel aussy fut maistre en toutes ars et le plus grand philosophe des aultres comme il appert par son livre qu'il a faict nommer l'*Histoire naturelle*'. Les élèves ainsi formés seront plus avancés que leurs contemporains: [f. 123v] 'Quant ilz seront appris ainsy comme j'ay dit cy devant, ilz apprendront plus en ung an que ung aultre appris aux escoles ne feroit en quatre, en prenant les livres d'icelle art qu'ilz desireront d'apprendre et prenant quelque maistre bien expert en icelle art'. Ces élèves devront lire en priorité l'*Histoire romaine*: 'Devant toutz livres leur lira [le maistre] Titus Livius, pour ce qu'il parle et demonstre la fondation de la ville de Romme [f. 124r] quy est le fondement de toutz livres et de toutes ars et de toutes histoires'.

Le quatorzième chapitre<sup>25</sup> précise le degré de formation à atteindre et recommande de tenir compte de la jeunesse des élèves.

A la treiziesme année, le maistre [f. 124v] leur fera avoir les livres de l'art que chascun voudra apprendre et lors, dedens ung an ou mains, par adventure, chascun escolier sçara l'art qu'il voudra, sinon celles quy se veuillent apprendre par experience comme j'ay dit de la Medicyne et aulcunes aultres (...) [f. 126r] (...). Touchant les aultres ars de Theologie, Astronomie, Geometrie, Mathematycque et Musycke, ce ne sont pas pour enfans, mais pour hommes eagez, et n'y doibt on pas demourer longuement, mais souffira de sçavoir les rigles principales et les commenchemenz.

Ainsi, à ces élèves dont la formation rhétorique est parfaitement bilingue, des rudiments de théologie et de l'ancien *quadrivium* suffiront, mais il

seroit bien prouffitable d'apprendre la Cosmographie, c'est-à-dire la description du monde, des mers, des terres, des rivières et montaignes, touchant la situation [f. 126v] du ciel, cela se comprennent en l'art d'Astronomie, ce qu'il fault aussi sçavoir pour mieulx entendre les historiens, orateurs, poetes

<sup>24</sup> Intitulé simplement 'Le treizeisme (sic) chapitre', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 122v à 124r.

<sup>25</sup> Intitulé 'Le quatorziesme chapitre. De la treiziesme année', ce chapitre est copié sur les ff. 124r à 126v.

et aultres, de toutes lesquelles ars j'en ay escript les commencementz en ung livret que j'ay faict et ordonné pour les enfans à le lire a leurs dix ans, comme j'ay dit au chapitre unziesme de ce livre des *Questions pueriles*.

Dans le quinzième chapitre<sup>26</sup>, l'auteur envisage le cas des élèves trop âgés pour suivre le cursus qu'il a exposé en détail dans les chapitres précédents; la grammaire reste, ici encore, l'ennemie du bon latin:

Maintenant reste de monstrier quelle choze on fera sy d'aventure aucuns plus vieulx que de sept ans veulent apprendre à parler latin, ou quant ce seroyent hommes parfaictz. (...). En quelque eage qu'ilz soyent, le maistre les apprendra de la sorte que j'ay dit devant, car [f. 127r] tant plus aront entendement et tant plus tost l'apprendront s'ilz y ont bonne voulunté et en font bonne diligence. (...) En quoy est à craindre que la deffaulte sera autant ou plus aux maistres que aux escoliers, car ilz ont toutz ceste art de Grammaire sy fort en la teste qu'il y en ara bien affaire de les en oster. (...) Ilz sont sy embrouillés de leur art [f. 127v] de Grammaire qu'ilz n'ont loisir de lire iceulx anciens acteurs romains, et sy d'aventure ilz les lisent, sy ne les peuvent ilz entendre tant qu'ilz ayent cest art de Grammaire en la teste. (...) [f. 128r] (...) Ces acteurs romains ont escript au contraire d'icelle art [de grammaire], comme a dit Servius non pas une fois mais plus de trente fois dedens ses *Commentaires sus Virgile*, et exposent les ditz anciens acteurs par ceste art, quy est choze repugnante et quasy impossible, comme j'ay declairé plus à plain en mes *Annotations et expositions* que j'ay faict sur Plaute et sur Virgile en ses *Eneydes*. Ainsy doncques, pour revenir à nostre propos, en quelque eage que l'homme [f. 128v] soye, sy le maistre y veult mettre bonne diligence et l'escolier avecq en apprendre de la sorte que j'ay mise en ce livre, il ne fault point de le bien apprendre. (...) Ce que j'ay donné cinq ou six ans d'espace aux enfans de sept ans, celui de dix ou douze ans s'il scet lire et escrire en son langage, il apprendra le latin en trois ou quatre ans ou plus tost. (...) Combien que plusieurs au commencement ne seront pas de mon opinion, mais je leur prie qu'ilz y pensent bien et qu'ilz regardent ces vieulx acteurs que j'ay nommé (...) [f. 129r] et j'espere qu'ilz trouveront vray ce que j'ay escript en mon livre en latin et en cestuy cy avecq. Et pour la fin, à ceulx qui disent que ceulx qui parlent latin par usance, comme je l'ordonne en ce livre, ilz ne sçauront s'ilz parlent bien ou mal, je leur demande quant ilz parlent franchois comment ilz scevent s'ilz parlent bien ou mal, et puis encoire leur demande de l'enfant ou l'homme quy parle comme Tulle Cicero s'il parle bien ou mal: il me semble que nul ne peult nyer qu'il ne parle bien, et mieulx que nulz maistres d'escoles que sont aujourd'huy, s'yl ne change l'ordre et les motz dudict Tulle.

<sup>26</sup> Intitulé 'Le quinzième chapitre. Comment l'on doit apprendre ceulx quy seront plus vieulx que de sept ans', ce chapitre occupe les ff. 126v à 129v.

L'auteur, inconnu, mentionne par deux fois<sup>27</sup> dans ce chapitre 15 le titre de l'une de ses œuvres antérieures. Après une première mention:

Servius, que l'on tient pour le prince des grammairiens, dist en plusieurs lieux (...) que les anciens acteurs ont escript non pas selon les rigles de l'art de Grammaire, mais bien souvent au contraire (...) aussy bien orateurs et historiens quy ont escript en prose, comme Titus Livius, Salustius, Cicero, Quintilien, Pline et aultres, ce que j'ay dit et declairé plus à plain en mon livre que j'ay faict en latin, nommé la *Restauration de la langue latine*,

il clôt ce chapitre 15, après l'éloge de la langue de Cicéron, sur: 'Ainsy appert que ceste difficulté est frivole, et plusieurs aultres que j'ay toutes solvetz en mon livre que j'ay faict en latin, nommé la *Restauration de la langue latine*'.

Le seizième chapitre<sup>28</sup> offre une conclusion:

Aulcuns poroyent icy dire que je suy temeraire et presumptueux de reprouver ce que tant de gens ont usé et approuvé par sy long temps (...), sur ce je respons que j'en ay esté moy mesmes aussy bien esbahy quant je l'ay premier apperceu, et ay esté bien vingt ans que n'en ay osé parler ne escrire, tant que j'eusse leu les livres des anciens romains, Plaute, Terence, Lucretius, Varro, Caton, Titus Livius, Valerius Maximus, Salustu[s], Plinius, et les poetes d'icelluy temps, et Suetonius, Vitruvus et aultres, hors [f. 130r] desquelz j'ay trouvé ce que je dis en ce livre, parquoy ne me sceus tenir de le mettre par escript pour le bien publicque.

Le traité se termine sur ces propos d'excuse, dont on ne sait trop s'ils relèvent de la rhétorique obligée ou d'une réelle modestie:

Plus lisoye iceulx vieulx acteurs romains et plus trouvoye vray ce que j'ay escript en ce livre, adonc me suys enhardy de le donner en publicque, non pas pour soustenir mon opinion contre tout le monde, mais priant à chascun de lire mon livre depuis le commencement jusques à la fin. Et s'ilz y treuvent aulcuns erreurs qu'ilz les rassablent en quelque billet ou epistre ou aultre livret, et qu'ilz corrigent mes erreurs fraternellement [f. 130v] sans maledictions ou reproches, et qu'ilz les m'envoyent affin que je les puisse amender et corriger devant ma mort, ce que je prendray bien en gré et n'auray point de honte d'avoir failly. Car je suys homme comme les aultres, et en y a eut grandz et bien renommez quy ont bien failly et souvent, par quoy je puis aussy bien faillir que les aultres et ne seray point honteux d'estre repris moyennant que ce soit par amytié, non pas par hayne, envye ou detraccion comme j'ay dit.

<sup>27</sup> Au f. 128r et au f. 129r.

<sup>28</sup> Intitulé 'La conclusion et seiziesme chapitre de ce present livre', ce chapitre va du f. 129v au f. 130v.

Il n'y a pas de formule finale.

Cet auteur, qui ne se nomme pas, mais qui dédie son œuvre à un empereur, et précise, toujours dans le prologue, qu'il a quarante ans et qu'il a beaucoup voyagé et appris des langues étrangères au cours de ses voyages, est donc également l'auteur d'une *Restauration de la langue latine*, écrite en latin.

Or, on doit à Georges d'Halluin une *Restauratio linguae latinae* (en trois livres), dont il dédia le premier livre le 24 octobre 1508 à Jean Despautère, mais qui ne fut éditée à Anvers que tardivement: en 1533 seulement.<sup>29</sup> Tout concorde pour faire de Georges d'Halluin l'auteur du *Livre de toutz langaiges*, en particulier sa position bien connue à l'égard de la grammaire latine.<sup>30</sup> Si Georges d'Halluin est né vers 1473, l'année de ses quarante ans — année annoncée pour la composition du traité en français — serait 1513; donc l'empereur dédicataire 'treshault, trespuissant et victorieux' est Maximilien I<sup>er</sup>, l'un des vainqueurs de la bataille de Guinegate (16 août 1513), appelée la 'Journée des éperons', et du siège qui se termina par la reddition de Théroouanne (23 août 1513).

Le prologue reprend les idées chères à Georges d'Halluin sur le mauvais apprentissage du latin quand il se fonde sur l'enseignement de la grammaire latine:

Et je trouvoie ès livres latins que, pour apprendre le langaige latin, il failloit que les enffans allassent à l'escole et qu'ilz eussent des maistres quy leur apprinssent, par contrainte de les menasser et battre souvent de verges, par une art qu'on appelle Grammaire (...) cest art de Grammaire [serait] le fondement de la langue latine comme sy ce latin ne se puist [f. 93r] apprendre aultrement (...) et demandant à plusieurs leur opinion, la pluspart me respondirent que c'estoit pour ce que icelluy langaige [= le latin] n'estoit poynt nayf ou commun d'aucun pays, mais composé par l'art de Grammaire, ce

<sup>29</sup> *Restauratio Linguae Latinae per D. Georgium Haloini, Cominii Dominum aedita. Lege Lector optime, videbis enim desueta, nova & inaudita* (Anvers: Symon Coquus, 1533). Voir *Georgii Haloini De restauratione linguae Latinae libri tres*, ed. Constant Matheussen, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (Leipzig: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1978). L'éditeur précise qu'il n'existe pas de témoin manuscrit du *De restauratione linguae latinae* et que son édition se fonde sur les deux seuls exemplaires conservés de l'édition imprimée à Anvers en 1533, l'un d'eux portant des annotations marginales de la main de Georges d'Halluin.

<sup>30</sup> Cette position a été étudiée par Vivian Salmon, 'A Pioneer of the "direct method" in the Erasmus circle', *Latomus*, 19 (1960), 567-577.

que n'estoyent pas les aultres langaiges, parquoy ne se pouoit apprendre sy tost que les aultres (...). [f. 93v] (...) Je me advisay de laisser toutz les nouveaulx livres des grammariens et commençay à lire les livres de Romains historiens, poetes et orateurs (...), dont, en lisant [f. 94r] iceulx livres plus ententivement que n'avoie faict en ma jeunesse, trouvoy tout premierement que cest art de Grammaire n'estoit pas le fondement de la langue latine, ainsy que disoyent et escrivoient les grammairiens, mais que, longuement avant que cest art commencha, en Italie on avoit parlé Latin, et que c'estoit ung langaige comme les aultres venant d'ung pays nommé Latium, quy estoit entour de Rome devant Rome fondée, dont le roy se nomma Latinus et le langaige Latina Lingua (...) [f. 95r] (...) depuis après la fondation [de] Romme cinq ou six centz ans y eut ung roy en Grece nommé Attalus, quy estoit amy aux Romains, lequel, pour leur faire plaisir et pour choze nouvelle, leur envoya à Romme cest art de Grammaire quy avoit esté faicte et composée au pays de Grece pour plustost apprendre aux estrangiers la langue gregeoise, ainsy l'envoya aux Romains pour en faire une telle pour la langue latine, affin que les estrangiers à Romme apprinsent plutost et plus seurement ceste langue latine.

Dans le prologue des *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>31</sup>, qu'il dédiera à l'archiduc Charles, futur Charles Quint, le 15 octobre 1514, Georges d'Halluin exposera des idées semblables et fera aussi référence à son œuvre latine:

je treuve que l'art de Grammaire n'est point le fondement de la langue latine, mais plus tost empeschement et qu'elle retarde les enfans et tous aultres avec de bien parler, ce que j'ay monstré et prouvé en une œuvre que j'ay faite de la langue latine par autoritez, par raisons et par experience, car nous veons que entre tant de milliers d'enffans qui vont à l'escole tous les jours, il en y a sy peu qui prouffitent de ceulx qui aprendent le latin par art, et toutesfois n'y a sy fort langage que à l'apprendre par ruse et usance l'on ne le sache en demi an ou guerre plus, et mesme gens vielz oussy bien que josnes, par quoy est tout cler que sy les enfans aprinsent en jeunesse ce latin de court comme on a fait aultres langages, c'est à savoir par ruse et usance, ilz le saroient en sy peu de tans come ilz font les aultres, qui ne sont point leurs langaiges maternelz.

Le *Livre de toutz langaiges*, s'il reprend bien les théories déjà exprimées dans la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, possède son originalité propre. En particulier, il ne suit pas exactement le plan de la *Restauratio*, qui consacra-

<sup>31</sup> Conservés dans le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 24725 (f. 11v) et présentés par Jacques Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme en langue vulgaire dans la France du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *The Late Middle Ages and the Dawn of Humanism outside Italy*, ed. by Gerard Verbeke – Jozef IJsewijn, *Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*, series 1, studia 1 (Leuven: Leuven University Press – The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1972), pp. 131-170 (pp. 155-164).

crait le livre I (*De grammaticorum concordia*) à l'exposé de la théorie anti-grammaticale et au rejet absolu de la grammaire, le livre II (*De eruditione puerorum*) à l'établissement d'un schéma précis de l'enseignement du latin — enseignement qui donne une place non négligeable aux langues vernaculaires<sup>32</sup> — et le livre III (*De libris per ordinem legendis*) au catalogue des auteurs à lire à l'école.

Dans le *Livre de toutz langaiges*, le chapitre 1 résume 'quod vanus est labor eorum qui per artem grammaticam et analogiam regularem in lingua Latina procedere nituntur' (*Rest.*, I, 15); le chapitre 2 reprend en partie seulement 'quod ipsa ars grammatica impedimentum maximum est in lingua latina' (*Rest.*, I, 9); le chapitre 3 résume le très important chapitre latin intitulé 'quod lingua Latina per usum processit, non per artem' (*Rest.*, I, 3); le chapitre 4 associe des éléments empruntés à 'de translatione unius linguae in alias' (*Rest.*, II, 5) et 'utrum soli ac cum pluribus erudienti sunt pueri' (*Rest.*, II, 17); le chapitre 6 traite de 'quod ars grammatica et aliae artes plures rationis ac veritatis similitudine homines jam diu deceperunt' (*Rest.*, I, 10); le chapitre 7 pose la question 'cur pueri scholas fugiunt' (*Rest.*, II, 4); le chapitre 8 traite 'de instructione puerorum in lingua Latina ab incunabulis' (*Rest.*, II, 8); le chapitre 10 poursuit avec 'de instructione puerorum anno nono sive decimo' (*Rest.*, II, 9), le chapitre 11 'de instructione puerorum anno decimo' (*Rest.*, II, 10) et le chapitre 12 'de instructione puerorum anno undecimo aut duodecimo' (*Rest.*, II, 11); le chapitre 15 reprend 'quomodo instruendi sunt pueri si qui forte venerint in media aetate' (*Rest.*, II, 22); enfin, le paragraphe d'excuses de la conclusion correspond à 'auctoris excusatio' (*Rest.*, II, 23).

Sans rapport particulier avec le livre III de la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, le *Livre de toutz langaiges* apparaît à la fois comme une vulgarisation des théories anti-grammaticales du livre I et comme un approfondissement du livre II. Entre 1508, date de la *Restauratio*, et 1513, date annoncée pour la composition du *Livre de toutz langaiges*, Georges d'Halluin a évolué dans sa pensée pédagogique<sup>33</sup> et éprouvé le besoin de

<sup>32</sup> Voir Constant Matheeussen, 'Le rôle des langues vernaculaires dans l'enseignement du latin selon Georges d'Halluin, et les points de vue d'Érasme et de Vivés', in *Acta Conventus neo-latini Turonensis. 3<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études néo-latines*, Tours, Université François-Rabelais, 6-10 septembre 1976, ed. by Jean-Claude Margolin, De Pétrarque à Descartes, 38, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1980), I, 472-480.

<sup>33</sup> De la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, Matheeussen, 'Le rôle des langues vernaculaires', p. 472 disait déjà: 'l'originalité d'Halluin se traduit aussi en directives concrètes, d'ailleurs fort bien praticables'. La formule est *a fortiori* applicable au *Livre de toutz langaiges*.

définir avec précision les étapes successives de l'enseignement des langues année après année.

Œuvre d'un des premiers humanistes de langue française, le *Livre de toutz langaiges* apporte aussi des indications nouvelles sur les écrits de Georges d'Halluin, que les érudits modernes<sup>34</sup> décrivaient comme 'un des restaurateurs de la langue latine'.

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Georges d'Halluin ou d'Halewin — Georgius Haloinus Cominius —, encore appelé Joris Van Halewijn<sup>35</sup>, naquit vers 1473 au château de Comines<sup>36</sup>, de Jean d'Halluin<sup>37</sup>, seigneur d'Halluin, et de Jeanne de La Clyte, dame de Comines. Sa mère<sup>38</sup> était la fille unique de Jean II de La Clyte, sire de Comines, tuteur de son cousin germain, Philippe de Comynnes: ainsi, par sa mère, Georges d'Halluin était apparenté au célèbre auteur des *Mémoires*.

Seigneur de Comines, Rollegheem et Rouquette, vicomte de Nieuport, Georges d'Halluin fut chargé par les souverains des Pays-Bas de plu-

<sup>34</sup> Selon Alexandre Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles Quint en Belgique*, 10 vols. (Bruxelles et Leipzig: E. Flatau, 1858-1860), V, 43.

<sup>35</sup> Voir la notice de Constant Matheeußen, 'Joris van Halewijn', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz - Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto - Buffalo - London: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987), II, 158-159, qui donne comme date de naissance 'c. 1470' et comme date de mort '1536/7'.

<sup>36</sup> Située de part et d'autre de la Lys, la localité de Comines (ou Commynes) fut partagée en deux par le traité d'Aix-la-Chapelle en 1668, la Lys formant la frontière entre les États autrichiens et la France. Le traité de Nimègue, en 1678, rattacha la partie 'nord' autrichienne à la partie 'sud' française. Puis le traité d'Utrecht, en 1713, rendit la partie 'nord' aux États autrichiens, la France conservant la partie 'sud'. L'ancien château fort — aujourd'hui détruit — avait été édifié sur la rive 'nord' de la Lys, au lieu dit les Bas-Prés: sur la commune de Comines-Warneton (Komen-Waasten, en néerlandais; Comines et Warneton ayant fusionné en 1977), arrondissement de Mouscron, province de Hainaut, Belgique.

<sup>37</sup> Jean d'Halluin mourut précisément en cette année 1473, en laissant cinq enfants (selon Louis-Joseph Messiaen, *Histoire chronologique, politique et religieuse des seigneurs et de la ville de Comines, suivie de Notices sur ses établissements publics, ses gildes, ses hameaux et ses hommes célèbres*, 3 vols (Bruges, 1892; réimpr. Paris: Éd. l'Harmattan, 1995), I, 280).

<sup>38</sup> D'après le baron de Reiffenberg, *Une existence de grand seigneur au seizième siècle. Mémoires autographes du duc Charles de Croy*, Société des bibliophiles de Belgique (Bruxelles et Leipzig: C. Muquardt, 1845), p. 336. La 'dame de Comines', veuve à 33 ans en 1473, avait dû naître en 1440; elle mourut en 1512 (selon Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, I, 280 et 302).

sieurs ambassades.<sup>39</sup> Comme membre de la cour<sup>40</sup> de l'archiduc Philippe le Beau, puis de celle de l'archiduc Charles, devenu en 1519 l'empereur Charles Quint, Georges d'Halluin participa à des voyages princiers. L'une de ses filles, Jeanne d'Halluin, fut demoiselle d'honneur de Marguerite d'Autriche<sup>41</sup> et épousa le 26 avril 1524 à Anvers le seigneur de Beaufort.

Georges d'Halluin parlait l'espagnol: on doit penser qu'il l'avait appris en accompagnant en Espagne l'archiduc Philippe le Beau et sa femme la princesse Jeanne de Castille, dont sa mère, Jeanne de La Clyte<sup>42</sup>, dame de Comines et d'Halluin, ancienne gouvernante de l'archiduc Philippe, était devenue dame d'honneur. Au nombre — considérable — des ressortissants des Pays-Bas qui accompagnèrent en novembre 1501 les archiducs dans leur voyage à travers la France vers l'Espagne<sup>43</sup> figurait un 'Jean Hallewyn'<sup>44</sup>: ce personnage semble un homonyme plutôt qu'une mauvaise lecture pour Georges d'Halluin. Mais, quand l'archiduc Philippe quitta Madrid le 2 novembre 1502 en laissant en Espagne l'infante Jeanne enceinte, certains de ces ressortissants des Pays-Bas, dont le 'seigneur d'Hallewyn' — qui est bien alors Georges d'Halluin —, restèrent auprès de la princesse de Castille<sup>45</sup>; ils revinrent dans les Pays-Bas avec

<sup>39</sup> Voir Jacques Monfrin, 'Un grand seigneur humaniste, Georges d'Halluin', *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1963), 94-96, et 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 155.

<sup>40</sup> Voir Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, I, 281-282, 297-299, 304-306 et 312.

<sup>41</sup> D'après Max Bruchet et Eugénie Lancien, *L'itinéraire de Marguerite d'Autriche, duchesse de Savoie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas* (Lille: impr. de L. Danel, 1934), p. 262. Voir aussi Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, I, 316.

<sup>42</sup> D'après André-Joseph-Ghislain Le Glay, *Maximilien I<sup>er</sup>, empereur d'Allemagne, et Marguerite d'Autriche, sa fille, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, Esquisses biographiques* (Paris: J. Renouard, 1839), p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>43</sup> Ce premier voyage (départ des Pays-Bas le 4 novembre 1501, passage par la France, séjour à Paris en novembre 1501, et retour de l'archiduc Philippe à Bruxelles en novembre 1503) se fit par voie de terre et Antoine de Lalaing (1480-1540), seigneur de Montigny, en donna le récit en français (publié par Louis-Prospér Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, Collection des chroniques belges inédites, 4 vols (Bruxelles: F. Hayez, 1874-1881), I, 123-386).

<sup>44</sup> Selon Henne, *Histoire du règne de Charles Quint en Belgique*, I, 37, n. 1, d'après le récit de Pontus Heuterus, qui indique bien 'Ioannes Halewinus' (*Rerum belgicarum libri quindecim... Praemissus est operi libellus de vetustate et nobilitate familiae habspurgicae ac austriacae* (Anvers: Jean Moretus, 1598), p. 258).

<sup>45</sup> D'après François Joseph Ferdinand Marchal, *Histoire politique du règne de l'empereur Charles Quint, avec un résumé des événements précurseurs...* (Bruxelles: H. Tarlier, 1856), p. 124. Antoine de Lalaing cite 'monseigneur de Meleun et monseigneur de Halluin' (voir Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, I, 245).



elle par voie de mer le 1<sup>er</sup> mars 1504: Georges d'Halluin a ainsi séjourné en Espagne de janvier 1502 à février 1504.

En outre, il a aussi pu être du second voyage des archiducs devenus roi et reine de Castille. Ce second et dernier voyage se fit par voie de mer. Il en existe une relation<sup>46</sup> sous la forme d'un journal dû à un participant anonyme<sup>47</sup>, qui pourrait être Antoine de Lalaing, chroniqueur du premier voyage et qui fut également du second. Le fait que Georges d'Halluin ne soit pas nommé dans le récit anonyme du second voyage ne permet pas de conclure à sa non participation, car l'auteur déclare ne pas énumérer<sup>48</sup> tous les participants originaires des Pays-Bas.

Par la suite, Georges d'Halluin accompagna l'archiduc et roi Charles en Espagne en 1517-1518, comme en témoigne une allusion<sup>49</sup> contenue dans une lettre d'Érasme à Petrus Barbirius en date du 6 mars 1518 à Louvain. Auparavant — donc lors d'un séjour antérieur à celui de 1517-1518 —, il avait eu le temps d'apprendre l'espagnol, et cela avant octobre 1514 comme le montre un passage des *Triumphes des Romains*: 'comme en Espagne encore aujourd'huy tous prestres se appellent *clerigos*'.<sup>50</sup>

Outre l'espagnol, Georges d'Halluin pratiquait aussi le français, le néerlandais et le latin, peut-être même l'allemand; il ne semble pas qu'il ait pu lire aisément le grec.<sup>51</sup>

Devenu veuf d'Antoinette de Sainte-Aldegonde de Noircarmes<sup>52</sup>, Georges d'Halluin<sup>53</sup> accepta en 1519 d'entrer dans les ordres, mais l'évêché de Tournai pour lequel il avait été pressenti ne lui fut pas confié.

<sup>46</sup> Conservée dans le manuscrit Paris, BnF, Dupuy 503, ff. 46-89 et publiée par Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, I, 387-480: cette relation mentionne que Philippe le Beau et Jeanne de Castille embarquèrent le jeudi 8 janvier 1506 sur le navire 'la Julyenne' et partirent de Flessingue le 10 janvier (*ibid.*, 408).

<sup>47</sup> Voir Louis-Prosper Gachard, 'Notice sur la relation manuscrite du deuxième voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne', *Bulletins de la Commission royale d'histoire*, VI, n° 1, 2<sup>e</sup> série (s.d.), 3-22 (p. 9).

<sup>48</sup> Voir Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, I, 409-411. La liste des accompagnateurs du second voyage figure dans le manuscrit Paris, BnF, Dupuy 503.

<sup>49</sup> Voir *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...*, ed. by Percy Stafford et Helen Mary Allen, 12 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906-1958), III, 249, n° 794, l. 84-85.

<sup>50</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, f. 12v.

<sup>51</sup> D'après Matheussens, 'Joris van Halewijn', p. 158.

<sup>52</sup> Selon Antoine Le Pippre, *Intentions morales, civiles et militaires* (Anvers: P. et J. Bellère, 1625), p. 252. Antoinette de Sainte-Aldegonde avait été dame d'honneur de l'archiduchesse Marguerite d'Autriche (selon Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, I, 313).

<sup>53</sup> Voir *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...*, III, 62-63, n° 641.

Correspondant d'Érasme, qui lui écrivait depuis Louvain<sup>54</sup> le 21 juin 1520, Georges d'Halluin se trouvait alors à Bruxelles et s'apprêtait à accompagner Charles Quint à l'entrevue de Gravelines<sup>55</sup> avec Henri VIII d'Angleterre qui eut lieu le 14 juillet. Il resta à la cour jusqu'en 1522. Il se retira ensuite dans son château de Comines. C'est dans ce château — aujourd'hui détruit — que Georges d'Halluin mourut en septembre<sup>56</sup> 1536. Selon ses dernières volontés, ce fut l'église d'Halluin<sup>57</sup>, où se trouvaient les tombes des sires d'Halluin et celle d'Antoinette de Sainte-Aldegonde, — et non l'église de Comines<sup>58</sup> — qui accueillit sa dépouille: elle conserva, jusqu'à sa destruction vers la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, une pierre tombale portant son épitaphe latine.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Voir *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami...*, IV, 289-290, n° 1115.

<sup>55</sup> Cette entrevue eut lieu après la rencontre fameuse, dite du 'Camp du drap d'or' en juin 1520 entre Guines et Ardres, entre François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri VIII d'Angleterre.

<sup>56</sup> Selon Le Pippre, *Intentions morales, civiles et militaires*, p. 251.

<sup>57</sup> Cette église d'Halluin (commune d'Halluin, canton de Tourcoing-Nord, arr. de Lille, Nord) était bâtie au sud de la Lys.

<sup>58</sup> L'église paroissiale de Comines — devenue collégiale au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle — aurait été élevée par l'évêque saint Chrysole (martyrisé à Comines vers 278) à l'emplacement d'un ancien autel dédié à saint Pierre. Cette église de Comines était située sur la rive 'sud' de la Lys et placée sous le vocable de saint Pierre. C'est seulement après la Révolution française que le vocable de saint Chrysole s'imposa pour un édifice restauré et ouvert au culte en 1912: détruite au cours de la première Guerre mondiale, l'église Saint-Chrysole fut reconstruite en style néo-flamand entre 1922 et 1925, et consacrée en 1929. Située sur le sol français (Comines-France: canton du Quesnoy-sur-Deûle, arr. de Lille, Nord), l'actuelle église Saint-Chrysole ne garde aucun vestige de l'épitaphe de Georges d'Halluin, mais elle abrite l'urne funéraire de Charles de Croÿ et une plaque funéraire en pierre au nom de Jean Despautère (mort à Comines en 1520).

<sup>59</sup> L'épitaphe est publiée par Le Pippre, *Intentions morales, civiles et militaires*, pp. 251-252:

Munera qui spreuit aulae fumosa superbae,  
 Prae dulci Aonidum ludo & sudore Minervae,  
 Nec tamen abstinuit Regum, si quando vocatus  
 Conciliis, gravibus consultans publica dictis:  
 Nec patriae, duos sudanti Marte labores  
 Defuit, & neutram contempsit tempore laudem:  
 Qui quos antiqua populos ditione tenebat,  
 Legibus instituit, fuerant ut tempora, Sanctis:  
 Comminii genitrix; Halevyni cui pater arcem  
 [252] Iure dedit prisca maiorum laude regendam,  
 Eius habes clausos cineres hoc marmore, mentem  
 Pronus ei precibus commenda, siste viator:  
 Aeternum cineres faciet qui vivere rursus.

Elle est reproduite par André-Joseph-Ghislain Le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Lille* (Lille: Vanackère, 1848), p. xxii.

Noble, diplomate et lettré, Georges d'Halluin adopta comme résidence le château de Comines, qui lui appartenait du chef de sa mère, et y réunit une riche bibliothèque<sup>60</sup> qui devint vite fameuse. Il installa à Comines, en 1514, comme 'maître d'école', le grammairien Jean Despautère, son ami, qui lui avait dédié en 1510 son *Ars versificatoria*, qui fit son éloge dans son épître de dédicace: 'Delicatissimum in litteris palatum, acerrimam censuram, cui nihil non exactissimum placeat'<sup>61</sup> et qui vécut à Comines jusqu'à sa mort en 1520. Georges d'Halluin fut aussi l'ami et le protecteur<sup>62</sup> de Josse Bade, d'Adrien Barland, de Martin Dorp, de Remacle d'Ardenne et de Juan Luis Vivès — il reçut ce dernier au château de Comines —, et l'un des nombreux correspondants d'Érasme.<sup>63</sup>

S'il ne semble pas avoir laissé d'écrits littéraires en espagnol ni en néerlandais, certaines œuvres latines lui sont attribuées avec certitude et aussi quelques textes en français.

Son œuvre latine la plus connue est la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, composée en 1508 et éditée à Anvers en 1533 seulement. À ce traité original, s'ajoute un commentaire latin de l'*Énéide*, intitulé *Annotationes in Virgilium*<sup>64</sup>, qui aurait été entrepris après 1526 et achevé avant 1529.<sup>65</sup> Ce commentaire est conservé dans le manuscrit Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, 15585, réputé autographe et qui a été copié vers 1534. Pour établir ce commentaire, Georges d'Halluin a pu se fonder sur une édition de l'*Énéide*, déjà commentée par Servius, Philippe Béroalde l'Ancien, Tiberius Claudius Donatus<sup>66</sup> et Josse Bade, édition qui avait été imprimée vers 1501 par Thielmann Kerver<sup>67</sup> pour Jean Petit et Jean de Coblencz à Paris.

<sup>60</sup> Voir Le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif*, p. XIX, Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, III, 438-450 et Alphonse Roersch, *L'humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance. Études et portraits* (Bruxelles: G. Van Oest, 1910), p. 21.

<sup>61</sup> Voir Le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif*, p. XIX, n. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Voir Constant Matheeußen, 'De kennissenkring van de mecenas en humanist Georgius Haloinus. Een overzicht van zijn correspondentie', *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 30 (1976), 109-127.

<sup>63</sup> Voir Matheeußen, 'Joris van Halewijn', p. 159.

<sup>64</sup> Édition du prologue et de l'épilogue par Constant Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem* (Brussel, K.B., hs.15.585) van Georgius Haloinus. Themata en datering', *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, 31 (1977), 153-176 (pp. 170-176).

<sup>65</sup> D'après Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', p. 153.

<sup>66</sup> Voir *Tiberi Claudii Donati ad Tiberium Claudium Maximum Donatianum filium suum Interpretationes Vergilianae*, ed. Georg Heinrich, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1905-1906).

<sup>67</sup> D'après Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 156.

D'autres sources<sup>68</sup> que l'édition imprimée vers 1501 ont aussi pu être utilisées, en particulier l'édition imprimée à Paris par Josse Bade<sup>69</sup> pour Jean Petit en 1507.

Toutefois, la rédaction du *Livre de toutz langaiges* datant de 1513, il faut placer la date de composition — ou au moins l'élaboration d'une première rédaction — de ces *Annotationes in Virgilium* avant 1513, car Georges d'Halluin annonce, dans le chapitre 15 du *Livre de toutz langaiges*: 'comme j'ay declairé plus à plain en mes *Annotations et expositions* que j'ay faict sur Plaute et sur Virgile en ses *Eneydes*'.<sup>70</sup>

En outre, Georges d'Halluin évoque, dans les *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>71</sup>, des lettres en latin qu'il avait adressées à l'un des conseillers de l'archiduc Charles, le philosophe milanais Luigi Marliano<sup>72</sup>, au sujet de l'opinion selon laquelle le latin des Romains — notre latin 'classique' — faisait du tort à la foi chrétienne: cette opinion avait déjà été réfutée par l'humaniste vénitien Ermolao Barbaro (1454-1493). Ces lettres à Luigi Marliano avaient donc été composées avant octobre 1514.

Parmi ses œuvres en français, il convient de distinguer les œuvres originales, comme les *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>73</sup>, que l'auteur dédie à

<sup>68</sup> Il aurait pu recourir aussi au texte français conservé dans le manuscrit La Haye, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 129 A 7 (*Énéide*, traduction en vers français par Octovien de Saint-Gelais; prologue avec dédicace à Louis XII; explicit daté du 27 avril 1500; copie sur papier au filigrane piémontais = Briquet 13040, début XVI<sup>e</sup> s.; 140 ff.). Ce volume a eu pour possesseurs: Engelbert II, comte de Nassau (1451-1504), puis son neveu et héritier Henri III, comte de Nassau (1483-1528), puis les princes d'Orange; il fut acheté en 1749 par Guillaume IV (reliure à ses armes) et 'séjourna' à Paris de 1798 à 1818; la mention manuscrite 'Halewin' portée au verso de la première garde (en-dessous de la devise 'Je le veulx') peut indiquer que le volume s'est trouvé à un moment entre les mains de Georges d'Halluin: prêté par Henri III, comte de Nassau?

<sup>69</sup> Décrite dans *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ouvrage publié d'après les manuscrits de Philippe Renouard*, par le Service des travaux historiques de la Ville de Paris, avec le concours de la Bibliothèque nationale, Histoire générale de Paris, 5 vols (Paris: Service des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1964-1991), II, 53, n° 80. Alice Hulubei, 'Virgile en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: éditions, traductions, imitations', *Revue du seizième siècle*, 18 (1930), 1-77 (p. 13) signale que: 'De 1500 à 1529, il n'y a pas moins de dix-sept éditions de Virgile qui portent son nom [celui de Josse Bade]'.

<sup>70</sup> Au f. 128r.

<sup>71</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, f. 13v: 'est le beau latin mis dessouz les piedz tellement que aucuns ont voulu dire qu'il empesche nostre foy, laquelle opinion reprouve fort Hermolaus Barbarus en l'une de ses epistres dont je ne parleray guerres maintenant, pour ce qu'en aucunes autres epistres en ay parlé plus au long, lesquelles j'ay escript à maistre Louys Marlien'.

<sup>72</sup> D'après Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 157.

<sup>73</sup> Conservés dans le manuscrit Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725 (ff. 1r-91v). Ce volume asso-

l'archiduc Charles, futur Charles Quint, le 15 octobre 1514 — une sorte de traité sur les institutions romaines qui devait servir d'introduction à une nouvelle traduction des *Vies des douze Césars* de Suétone — et maintenant le *Livre de toutz langaiges*, des nombreuses traductions en français — qui sont souvent des traductions-adaptations.

Ainsi une traduction de Végèce<sup>74</sup> est citée dans les *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>75</sup> et doit donc avoir été établie avant octobre 1514: 'ce que declaire bien Vegece au chommenchement de son livre, lequel aussy j'ay translaté du latin en fransois', 'comme j'ay declaré tout au long en ung livre nommé Vegece *De l'art de chevalerie*, lequel j'ay oussy translaté de latin en fransois', et 'une acteur nommé Vegece que j'ay translaté de latin en fransois'. En outre, J. Monfrin<sup>76</sup> a identifié comme étant de Georges d'Halluin une traduction de la *Vita Divi Iulii* de Suétone<sup>77</sup>, œuvre qui se présentait anonymement, sans préface ni titre, et avec de nombreuses additions par rapport au texte latin.

D'autres traductions, cette fois d'auteurs grecs, furent faites à partir de versions latines: la traduction d'*Élien le Tacticien*<sup>78</sup>, d'après la version latine de Niccolò Sagundino<sup>79</sup>, date de 1516 et la traduction du *De Optimo*

cie trois papiers: sur les ff. 5-34 un papier au filigrane du P simple (attesté au château de Leyß, en Livonie, en 1520-1521: n° III-1026 de Piccard), sur les ff. 35-94 et 122-179 un papier au filigrane du pot couronné et surmonté d'un fleuron (proche du n° 12629 de Briquet, attesté à Bruges en 1515, avec des variantes similaires à Anvers en 1515, Troyes en 1521-1527, Châlons-en-Champagne en 1523-1525, Paris en 1529 et Saint-Omer en 1533), sur les ff. 95-121 un papier au filigrane du P avec un fleuron (attesté à Malines en 1529: n° VII-2102 de Piccard).

<sup>74</sup> D'après Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 157.

<sup>75</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, ff. 11v, 17v et 31r.

<sup>76</sup> Voir Jacques Monfrin, 'Notice sur une traduction de la Vie de César de Suétone, contenue dans le manuscrit français 20132 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris', in *Fin du Moyen Age et Renaissance, Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guiette* (Anvers: Nederlandsche boekhandel, 1961), pp. 203-224 (p. 224).

<sup>77</sup> Conservée dans le manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 20132. Ce volume est constitué d'un seul papier, dont le filigrane est un pot couronné surmonté d'un fleuron, d'une hauteur totale de 46 mm et situé entre deux fils de chaînette espacés de 28 mm, à rapprocher des n°s 12618-12641 de Briquet. Ce filigrane, dont le type le plus proche est le n° 12619 de Briquet (attesté à Paris en 1483, Sens en 1485-1490, Utrecht en 1487-1489), n'est pas identique au pot couronné surmonté d'un fleuron qui apparaît dans les ff. 35-94 et 122-179 du Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725.

<sup>78</sup> Conservée dans le manuscrit Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, ff. 92r-169r. La date de cette traduction est donnée au f. 93r: 'escript à Commines che premier de juillet l'an de grace XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup>'.

<sup>79</sup> D'après Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 157. Le recours à la traduction latine de Niccolò Sagundino (mort en 1463) permet de

*Imperatore* d'Onosander<sup>80</sup>, qui est mentionnée dans les *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>81</sup>, est antérieure à octobre 1514. Cette traduction d'Onosander par Georges d'Halluin, dont aucun témoin ne semble subsister, serait la première traduction française de l'auteur grec, bien avant la traduction abondamment commentée de Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1596), parue posthume en 1605.

Par ailleurs, Georges d'Halluin ne craignit pas de s'attaquer à la traduction d'une œuvre contemporaine, puisqu'il entreprit en 1517 d'établir une version française de l'*Encomium Moriae* d'Érasme. Cette traduction, dont Érasme se montra peu satisfait, est restée inédite et n'a rien à voir avec la traduction anonyme publiée<sup>82</sup> à Paris, par Pierre Vidoue pour Galliot du Pré, en 1520.

L'intérêt affirmé de Georges d'Halluin pour les grands textes anciens ne l'empêcha pas de se soucier des questions religieuses contemporaines, puisque, au nombre de ses œuvres françaises aujourd'hui considérées comme perdues, il faut mentionner un traité contre Luther<sup>83</sup>, traité que Josse Clichtove critique dans une *Improbatio* parue à Paris en 1533.

Toutefois, c'est bien au nombre des grands traducteurs du début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle que le seigneur d'Halluin et de Comines mérite avant tout d'être compté. L'humaniste qui 'batailla' pour obtenir le rétablissement du latin des classiques — étouffé selon lui par le latin abâtardi des clercs — sut se faire transmetteur des grandes œuvres classiques, tant grecques que latines, de l'art militaire et de l'histoire antique.

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déduire que Georges d'Halluin ne savait pas le grec, ou du moins pas assez pour traduire sans aide le grec en français: 'laquelle euvre fist ung acteur grecq nommé Elianus (...) et depuis a esté translaté du grecq en latin par ung nommé Nicolas Sagundin' (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, f. 92r).

<sup>80</sup> Citée par Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 157.

<sup>81</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, f. 16v: 'ainsy que le demonstre clerement ung acteur nommé Onosander en son livre d'ung parfaict empereur, lequel j'ay oussy translaté de latin en françois'. La formule employée par Georges d'Halluin suppose le recours à une version latine du traité d'Onosander, vraisemblablement celle de Niccolò Sagundino qui avait été publiée à Rome vers 1494 (*De Optimo Imperatore ejusque officio per Nicolaum Sagundinum e graeco in latinum traductus...*, Romae: Franck, [1494]).

<sup>82</sup> Voir Constant Matheeußen, 'La traduction française de l'*Éloge de la Folie* par Georges d'Halluin et la traduction anonyme parisienne de 1520', *Humanistica Lovanien-sia*, 28 (1979), 187-198.

<sup>83</sup> Voir Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', p. 156 et Matheeußen, 'Joris van Halewijn', p. 159.

Une autre source importante pour la connaissance des écrits attribués à Georges d'Halluin — qu'il s'agisse de traités originaux ou de traductions — est le catalogue de vente de la bibliothèque<sup>84</sup> de son arrière-petit-fils, Charles de Croÿ, duc d'Arschot: *Catalogus universalis seu designatio omnium librorum, qui sub auctione publica bonorum mobilium, quondam illustrissimi D. Ducis Croy et Archotani Bruxellae 19 augusti hujus anni 1614 divendi incipientur* (Bruxellae: ex officina Rutgeri Velpii et Huberti Antonii Typog. Jur., 1614), in-4°, 127 pp.

Charles de Croÿ (11 juillet 1560-13 janvier 1612), duc d'Arschot, était le fils de Philippe de Croÿ, duc d'Arschot, prince de Chimay et de Porcien, et de Jeanne d'Halluin, dame d'Halluin et de Comines, fille unique et héritière de Jean d'Halluin<sup>85</sup>, qui était le seul fils de Georges d'Halluin et d'Antoinette de Sainte-Aldegonde de Noircarmes. Jean d'Halluin avait épousé Jossine (ou Jeanne) de Lannoy<sup>86</sup> et mourut en 1544. Par sa mère Jeanne d'Halluin, Charles de Croÿ avait hérité de la célèbre bibliothèque réunie par son aïeul au château de Comines et l'avait fait transférer dans sa résidence favorite, le château de Beaumont.

Ce catalogue de vente enregistre sous le nom de Georges d'Halluin douze numéros, avec des titres exclusivement latins et dont certains représentent des œuvres déjà connues par ailleurs:

- n° 29: *Georgii Haloini Oratio quod ars grammatica est impedimentum in lingua latina*: s'agirait-il d'une préfiguration de la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, voire du traité lui-même, rédigé en 1508?
- n° 30: id., *Formulae puerorum loquendi tam graece quam latine*: ce texte pourrait bien être identique au traité revendiqué par Georges d'Halluin au début du chapitre 11 du *Livre de toutz langaiges*: 'À dix ans le maistre leur lira ung petit livret que j'ay faict quy se nomme des *Questions pueriles*, quy est des questions des chozes que les enfans ne peuvent sçavoir sans leur monstrier' et au chapitre 14 du même ouvrage: 'comme j'ay dit au chapitre unziesme de ce

<sup>84</sup> Étudié par Edward Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croy, duc d'Aerschot (1614)', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 9 (1852), 380-393 et 436-451.

<sup>85</sup> Jean d'Halluin mourut en 1544, à l'âge de 33 ans, d'un coup d'arquebuse reçu au passage de la Marne, devant Vitry, à la tête d'une compagnie de cent cinquante hommes d'armes, dont il était capitaine (d'après Le Glay, *Catalogue descriptif*, p. XXI). Il a donc dû naître en 1511. Il avait deux sœurs (selon Messiaen, *Histoire ... de la ville de Comines*, I, 316-322).

<sup>86</sup> D'après le baron de Reiffenberg, *Une existence de grand seigneur au seizième siècle*, p. 336.

livre des *Questions pueriles*.<sup>87</sup> Ce traité des *Questions pueriles* est une petite encyclopédie, destinée à des enfants de dix ans.

- n° 31: id., *De vera elegantia et de vestibus Romanorum*, ouvrage qui est cité dans les *Annotationes in Virgilium*.<sup>88</sup>
- n° 32: id., *Adolescentiae aetatis pericula et de ludo pilae*: texte actuellement inconnu.
- n° 33: id., *De carminibus et versibus opusculum*, ouvrage qui est cité dans les *Annotationes in Virgilium*.<sup>89</sup>
- n° 34: id., *Super Aretinum enarratio*: il pourrait bien s'agir là du traité composé en latin pour réfuter les théories de Leonardo Bruni (vers 1370-1444), dit l'Arétin, sur le couronnement des souverains, traité auquel Georges d'Halluin fait allusion<sup>90</sup> par deux fois dans le texte de ses *Triumphes des Romains*<sup>91</sup>, écrits avant octobre 1514: 'les triumphateurs portoient seulement une courronne de laurier, dont les raisons sont declarees par Pline en l'*Historien naturelle* (sic) en son XV<sup>e</sup> livre au chapittre du laurier, ce que j'ay declairé plus à plain en ung petit traittier que j'ay composé du couronnement des rois et empereurs, contre l'opinion de Leonardo Aretin en l'une de ses epistres' et 'les motz de Pline et de Juvenal, come j'ay declaré tout au long en ce mesme traictié que j'ay faict en latin du couronnement des rois et des empereurs à l'encontre d'ung acteur italien nommé Leonardus Aretinus, lequel en l'une de ses epistres reprent la coustume de couronner les empereurs'. Le traité *Super Aretinum enarratio* serait donc antérieur à octobre 1514.
- n° 89: *Georgii Haloini Annotationes in Budaëum de asse et ejus partibus scriptae*, œuvre citée par l'auteur lui-même dans une annotation marginale à ses *Triumphes des Romains*: 'Toutesfois non point du tout comme j'ay declairé en ung livr[e] que j'ay nommé *Annotations sur le livre de Budee* des monno[ies] rommaines, lequel

<sup>87</sup> Au f. 121r (chapitre 11) et au f. 126v (chapitre 14).

<sup>88</sup> Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 15585, ff. 27v, 88r et 107v. Voir Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 165, n. 39, et 167, nn. 49 et 50.

<sup>89</sup> Bruxelles, BR, ms. 15585, ff. 21v, 30v, 48r, 58r, 121v, 141v, 149v. D'après Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 165, n. 38, et 166-167, nn. 43, 44 et 46. Voir aussi Matheeußen, 'De kennissenkring van de mecenas en humanist Georgius Haloinus', 111, n. 13.

<sup>90</sup> Dans la *Restauratio linguae latinae* (1, 3, 3), Georges d'Halluin évoquait déjà — en 1508 — les théories qui l'opposaient à celles de Leonardo Bruni: voir Matheeußen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 168, n. 56.

<sup>91</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, ff. 52v et 54v.



Budee totalement tient l'opinion dudit Blond[us], mais en aucunes parties ne suis pas de leur opinion'.<sup>92</sup> L'annotation marginale, étant nécessairement postérieure au mois d'octobre 1514, ne permet pas de proposer une date précise pour la rédaction de cet examen critique du *De Asse* de Guillaume Budé, dont la première édition<sup>93</sup> date précisément du 15 mars 1515.

- n° 131: *Georgii Haloini Variae epistolae et plura alia*: s'agirait-il du recueil d'extraits des *Epistulae ad familiares* de Cicéron, évoqué dans le chapitre 5 du *Livre de toutz langaiges*: 'et feront tant que celui tourne et translate icelles epistres en bon latin des anciens romains Tulle Cicero, Caton, Cesar et aultres, et à ceste cause j'ay faict ung livret hors des *Epistres* de Tullus Cicero, hors desquelles j'ay prins et rassemblé toutes les sentences et propos quy pourront servir aux epistres de cestuy temps present' et 'ce livret des *Epistres* de Tulle Cicero', puis à nouveau dans le chapitre 9 'du latin de Tullus Cicero hors de ses *Epistres familiares*, dont j'ay tiré les sentences'?<sup>94</sup>
- n° 132: *Georgii Haloini Grammaticalia et annotationes in Plautum manuscriptae*: œuvre écrite en raison de l'intérêt suscité<sup>95</sup> par le prologue à l'*Aulularia* de Plaute composé par Martin Dorp en 1508. Il pourrait s'agir ici du texte évoqué par Georges d'Halluin dans le chapitre 15 du *Livre de toutz langaiges*: 'comme j'ay declairé plus à plain en mes *Annotations et expositions* que j'ay faict sur Plaute et sur Virgile en ses *Eneydes*'.<sup>96</sup>
- n° 133: ejusdem, *Varii dialogi manuscripti*: texte actuellement inconnu.
- n° 134: ejusdem, *Annotationes in Virgilium manuscriptae*: œuvre conservée dans le manuscrit Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 15585 et évoquée par Georges d'Halluin dans le chapitre 15 du *Livre de toutz langaiges*: 'comme j'ay declairé plus à plain en mes *Annotations et expositions* que j'ay faict sur Plaute et sur Virgile en ses *Eneydes*'.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725, f. 60r (dans la marge de queue).

<sup>93</sup> À Paris, chez Josse Bade.

<sup>94</sup> Aux ff. 108v-109r (chapitre 5), 109v (chapitre 5) et 118v (chapitre 9).

<sup>95</sup> Voir Matheussen, 'De kennissenkring van de mecenas en humanist Georgius Haloinus', 110.

<sup>96</sup> Au f. 128r.

<sup>97</sup> Également au f. 128r.

- n° 135: ejusdem, *Animadversiones in Plautum manuscriptae*: texte actuellement inconnu.

Dans les *Annotationes in Virgilium*, Georges d'Halluin revendique aussi<sup>98</sup> un *De coronatione regum et imperatorum*<sup>99</sup> et un *Trilinguis vocabularius*<sup>100</sup>, ce dernier étant vraisemblablement un dictionnaire<sup>101</sup> latin-français-néerlandais. Ces deux œuvres seraient antérieures à 1513 si les *Annotationes in Virgilium* le sont.

Grande est la tentation d'identifier le *De coronatione regum et imperatorum* avec le traité *Super Aretinum enarratio*: la rédaction de ces deux œuvres latines s'inscrit dans la polémique qui oppose Georges d'Halluin aux théories de Leonardo Bruni, dit l'Arétin<sup>102</sup>, sur le couronnement des empereurs. En l'absence d'indication autre que celles qui sont fournies par les mentions des *Annotationes in Virgilium* et des *Triumphes des Romains*, la prudence commande de les distinguer et d'envisager la possibilité<sup>103</sup> de voir dans le *Super Aretinum enarratio* un traité préparatoire au *De coronatione regum et imperatorum*.

La chronologie relative qui se dégage peu à peu de l'enchevêtrement des citations de ses œuvres, que pratique systématiquement Georges d'Halluin, permet de conclure que bon nombre de celles-ci ont été composées avant 1514: la *Restauratio linguae latinae*, les *Formulae puerorum loquendi tam graece quam latine*, dites aussi *Questions pueriles* (aucun témoin connu), le *Super Aretinum enarratio* (aucun témoin connu), les *Variae espistolae et plura alia* (aucun témoin connu), les *Grammaticalia et annotationes in Plautum manuscriptae* ou bien les *Animadversiones in Plautum manuscriptae* (aucun témoin connu), auxquelles s'ajoutent les *Annotationes in Virgilium* (ou au moins leur première version), dont dépendent chronologiquement le *De vera elegantia et de*

<sup>98</sup> D'après Matheeussen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 166, nn. 40 et 41, et 168-169.

<sup>99</sup> Cité dans Bruxelles, BR, ms. 15585, ff. 66v et 142r.

<sup>100</sup> Cité dans Bruxelles, BR, ms. 15585, f. 107v.

<sup>101</sup> D'après Matheeussen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 167, n. 50, et du même, 'Joris van Halewijn', p. 159.

<sup>102</sup> Leonardo Bruni (*Epist.*, 6, 9; voir *Leonardi Arretini Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Lorenzo Mehus (Florence, 1741)) avait soutenu l'idée que les empereurs romains étaient couronnés avec une couronne d'orfèvrerie à l'instar des empereurs carolingiens, puis germaniques; Georges d'Halluin, suivant les explications de Pline (*nat.*, 15, 39 et 40), tient pour la simple couronne de laurier des triomphateurs, adoptée par Auguste et ses successeurs.

<sup>103</sup> Selon Matheeussen, 'De *Annotationes super Virgilii codicem*', 168, n. 56.

*vestibus Romanorum* (aucun témoin connu), le *De carminibus et versibus opusculum* (aucun témoin connu), le *De coronatione regum et imperatorum* (aucun témoin connu) et le *Trilinguis vocabularius* (aucun témoin connu).

En français, il y a quatre traités antérieurs à 1514: le *Livre de toutz langaiges*, les *Triumphes des Romains*, ainsi que les traductions de Végèce (aucun témoin connu) et d'Onosander (aucun témoin connu).

Sorti de l'ombre des bibliothèques et de l'anonymat, le *Livre de toutz langaiges*, qui vulgarise, au sens le plus noble, les théories de Georges d'Halluin sur l'enseignement des langues<sup>104</sup> aux enfants comme aux adultes, ne saurait plus laisser indifférents<sup>105</sup> grammairiens et pédagogues. Outre les précisions qu'elle apporte sur la connaissance des écrits originaux de Georges d'Halluin et des traductions qu'il a données, la découverte de cet ouvrage contribue au renouvellement des théories pédagogiques dans le premier quart du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: la nécessité d'améliorer la connaissance du latin — donc de repenser son enseignement — va de pair avec le recours à une meilleure pratique des langues vernaculaires. L'élaboration de florilèges tirés des classiques latins, à visée pédagogique, est 'complétée' par l'établissement de nombreuses traductions-adaptations en français d'autres ouvrages des auteurs classiques latins et grecs.

À la fois écrivain original, traducteur attentif, bibliophile reconnu et mécène généreux, familier des princes comme des plus grands penseurs de son époque, le seigneur d'Halluin et de Comines offre l'image d'un 'parfait' humaniste qui n'hésita pas, en outre, à faire l'essai de ses recommandations pédagogiques: la présence de Jean Despautère comme 'maître d'école' à Comines, jusqu'à sa mort en 1520, facilita l'application des principes 'révolutionnaires' définis dans la *Restauratio linguae latinae* (1508) et complétés par le *Livre de toutz langaiges* (1513). Dans son

<sup>104</sup> Déjà Matheeussen, 'Le rôle des langues vernaculaires', p. 475 disait de la *Restauratio linguae latinae* qu'elle 'mérite d'être étudiée de plus près de quiconque s'occupe de l'histoire de la didactique et de la méthodique au seizième siècle'.

<sup>105</sup> Dans le *Livre de toutz langaiges* (f. 96r), Georges d'Halluin avait bien conscience de heurter les habitudes de ses contemporains: 'je sçay bien que mes opinions ne seront trouuees bonnes ne approuuees au commenchement pour la longue accoustumance de cest art de Grammaire, par laquelle chascun faict apprendre à ses enfans la langue latine, mais je cuyde bien sçavoir que cy après en peu de temps petit à petit l'on apperchevera l'empeschement que faict cest art de Grammaire à apprendre à escrire et parler le bon latin vray et anchien'.

souci pédagogique, le grand seigneur humaniste pensait vraisemblablement à son fils Jean, né en 1511, autant qu'aux jeunes garçons de la même génération.

Puisse le souhait de Georges d'Halluin: 'me doubte bien que ceste manière d'apprendre les enffans à l'escole par ceste art de Grammaire ne se pourra oster du tout ne changer de mon vivant, mais je ne doubte pas que quelque jour on se perchevra de l'abbus d'icelle art et changera on la costume d'apprendre les enffans, ce que pleut à Dieu qu'il se fist avant ma mort et que le puisse veoir!'<sup>106</sup> être enfin partiellement — et très modestement — exaucé par une prochaine édition de son *Livre de toutz langaiges*!

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<sup>106</sup> *Livre de toutz langaiges*, f. 113v.

## Appendix:

### *Histoire du volume*

Le recueil 204 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Soissons résulte du travail successif de cinq copistes anonymes, tous de la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le premier copiste a transcrit, sur les deux premiers cahiers, le *Florilège poétique*. Le deuxième copiste a commencé la copie du *Livre des trois dames*, ou *Livre du songe des trois dames*, sur les ff. 22r-47r, c'est-à-dire du cahier 3 jusqu'au 2<sup>e</sup> feuillet du cahier 5; le relais a été pris par le troisième copiste pour achever le poème sur les ff. 47v-51v du cahier 5. Ensuite, ce même troisième copiste a commencé sa transcription des *Cent cinq rondeaux d'amour* pour terminer le cahier 5, très épais, puis la longueur du texte l'a obligé à ajouter un premier cahier plus mince (cahier 6), puis un second cahier encore plus mince (cahier 7), dont le verso du dernier feuillet (f. 83v) est resté blanc, la copie des *Cent cinq rondeaux d'amour* s'achevant sur le f. 83r. Le quatrième copiste est intervenu alors pour former le cahier 8 encore assez mince (un quaternion régulier) et y transcrire l'*Entreprise de Venise*.

Le manuscrit primitif s'arrêtait à cet endroit: il avait été constitué après le 23 septembre 1513 (date donnée par la 2<sup>e</sup> œuvre). Le lieu de copie est inconnu: on doit envisager une vaste ère géographique allant de la Champagne aux Pays-Bas bourguignons, le premier — et principal — papier étant aussi attesté à Douai.

Plus tard, un cinquième copiste a transcrit, sur un troisième papier — également attesté de la Champagne aux Pays-Bas bourguignons —, le *Livre de toutz langaiges*. Le manuscrit apparaît ainsi formé de deux unités codicologiques bien distinctes.

La constitution du recueil, tel qu'il se présente actuellement, est certainement postérieure à 1530, date du troisième papier qui forme, seul, les deux derniers cahiers, support du dernier texte, le *Livre de toutz langaiges*. Elle a pu être faite dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons, le troisième papier étant attesté à Bruges et à Middelburg.

La reliure ayant été refaite au moins une fois à une époque plus moderne (XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), les gardes anciennes, si elles existaient, ont disparu et les marges — en particulier celle de tête — ont été sérieusement rognées. Les gardes actuelles remontent à l'une des reliures — peut-être même la plus récente qui est celle du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle — et conservent des

cotes et notes modernes. Le verso de la deuxième garde en tête du volume porte un titre moderne, tracé à l'encre: 'Poesies françoises et traité des langues'. La cote actuelle apparaît sur le dos de la reliure 204 et au recto de la première garde en tête du volume: 'N° 204 c.i. vu 1931'; le recto de cette même première garde conserve des cotes anciennes: 'Tabl. 3' à l'encre et '3' au crayon, et '190' et 'N° 190' au crayon. Le volume autrefois coté 190 a donc dû être rangé sur une tablette numérotée 3.

Ce volume avait appartenu à l'abbaye chef d'ordre de Prémontré<sup>107</sup>, où il avait reçu la cote ancienne '190' et où il était rangé sur une troisième tablette. Les confiscations révolutionnaires le firent entrer à la bibliothèque de la ville de Soissons.

Le fonds de Prémontré a été 'reconstitué à partir de 1660, en puisant en partie dans les collections d'abbayes voisines, qu'elles appartiennent à l'Ordre de Prémontré (comme Sélincourt) ou non (Beaupré, par exemple, au diocèse de Beauvais, est cistercienne: elle a possédé les actuels Soissons, BM, 4, 23, 73, 120, 123). Jean-Baptiste L'Écuy, abbé à partir de 1781, devait encore accentuer cet effort à la veille de la Révolution'.<sup>108</sup> Toutefois, le volume ne semble pas avoir transité par l'abbaye de Sélincourt<sup>109</sup>, ni par celle de Beaupré.<sup>110</sup>

Par bonheur, la source capitale pour la connaissance des écrits de Georges d'Halluin qu'est le catalogue de vente de la bibliothèque du duc d'Arschot<sup>111</sup>, arrière-petit-fils de l'humaniste, cite, dans la rubrique 'Poésie', sous le n° 67: 'Ballades, livre des trois dames, livre de tous langages, etc.' ce qui correspond au contenu de l'actuel recueil de Soissons.

<sup>107</sup> Prémontré: abbaye Notre-Dame et Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Aisne, diocèse de Laon, aujourd'hui de Soissons, circarie de Flandre. Voir Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'ordre de Prémontré*, I, 228-250.

<sup>108</sup> D'après Bondéelle-Souchier, *Bibliothèques de l'ordre de Prémontré*, II, 195.

<sup>109</sup> Sélincourt: Somme, commune d'Hornoy-le-Bourg, arrondissement et diocèse d'Amiens, circarie de Ponthieu. Le manuscrit ne figure pas dans la liste publiée par Charles-Louis Hugo (*Sacri et canonici Praemonstratensis Annales*, 2 vols (Nancy, veuve J.-B. Cusson et A.-D. Cusson, 1734-1735), II, col. 558-560), ni dans celle que publie P. L. Limichin (*Remarques pour servir à l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Sélincourt, ordre de Prémontré, d'après le P. A. Lenormand* (Reims: Impr. centrale, 1910), pp. 66-67): on peut en conclure qu'il n'était pas dans l'inventaire établi par A. Le Normand, prémontré de Sélincourt, en 1719.

<sup>110</sup> Beaupré: Oise, commune d'Achy, arrondissement et diocèse de Beauvais. Le manuscrit n'est pas cité dans les inventaires anciens de Notre-Dame de Beaupré: Paris, BnF, lat. 13068 (dossiers Montfaucon), f. 67 (liste de 15 mss) et Paris, Arch. Nat., F<sup>17</sup> 1177 (Oise), pièce 24, ff. 11v-13 (daté du 23 décembre 1794: 47 articles).

<sup>111</sup> Voir Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croy, duc d'Aerschot', 439.

Mais ce catalogue ne rattache pas le *Livre de toutz langaiges* aux œuvres de Georges d'Halluin, toutes mentionnées sous une forme latine quelle que soit leur langue de composition: dès avant 1614 le lien entre l'auteur et son *Livre de toutz langaiges* était rompu.

En dépit de sa brièveté, la description donnée par le catalogue de vente n'est pas équivoque et permet de conclure que Georges d'Halluin a bien possédé le recueil de Soissons.

Georges d'Halluin serait-il à l'origine de la copie de son œuvre — par un copiste professionnel<sup>112</sup> — dans la deuxième unité codicologique et donc l'agent de la réunion des deux unités vers 1530? Pourrait-il même être à l'origine de la fabrication du manuscrit primitif, avec ses quatre textes? D'autres manuscrits lui ayant appartenu apporteraient-ils des précisions sur son rôle dans la constitution du recueil de Soissons?

Deux autres manuscrits des œuvres de Georges d'Halluin, et annotés par lui, se trouvent aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque nationale de France: ms. fr. 20312 (traduction française de la *Vita Divi Iulii* de Suétone<sup>113</sup>) et ms. fr. 24725 (*Des triumphes des Romains*, suivis de la traduction française d'*Élien le Tacticien*<sup>114</sup>); ces volumes avaient été acquis à la vente<sup>115</sup> de Croÿ par Richelieu, alors évêque de Luçon, qui les fit relier à ses armes; ils entrèrent ensuite à la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne: le ms. fr. 20312 est l'ancien 'Sorbonne 504' et le ms. fr. 24725 l'ancien 'Sorbonne 244'.

Les corrections marginales et interlinéaires présentées par le volume Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24725 étant réputées de sa main<sup>116</sup>, Georges d'Halluin

<sup>112</sup> Si Georges d'Halluin semble avoir montré peu d'intérêt pour la diffusion imprimée de ses œuvres, il en a fait copier certaines dans une calligraphie soignée et avec une mise en page presque luxueuse: en témoigne la traduction de la *Vita Divi Iulii* du manuscrit Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 20312 (voir Monfrin, 'Notice sur une traduction de la Vie de César de Suétone', p. 203).

<sup>113</sup> Décrite par Monfrin, 'Notice sur une traduction de la Vie de César de Suétone', pp. 203-224.

<sup>114</sup> Voir Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', pp. 156-162.

<sup>115</sup> Il faut noter qu'au moment de cette vente à Bruxelles, c'est-à-dire en 1614-1617, l'abbé commendataire de Sélincourt était Sébastien Galigaï, le beau-frère du maréchal d'Ancre, — également nommé en 1614 archevêque de Tours par la faveur de sa sœur Leonora auprès de la reine Marie de Médicis (d'après Limichin, *Remarques pour servir à l'histoire de l'Abbaye de Sélincourt*, p. 50) — et que Richelieu, familier de Marie de Médicis, devait nécessairement le connaître. Ce détail, qui relève de l'anecdote, ne permet pas de conclure que l'actuel manuscrit de Soissons, BM, ms. 204, aurait pu être acheté à Bruxelles par Galigaï pour la bibliothèque de Sélincourt, et de là gagner l'abbaye de Prémontré.

<sup>116</sup> Voir Monfrin, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme', pp. 156-157.

ne peut être l'auteur des corrections du deuxième texte du recueil de Soissons, le *Livre des trois dames* (ces corrections étant dues aux deuxième et troisième copistes), ni de celles du troisième texte, les *Cent cinq rondeaux d'amour* (le troisième copiste s'étant corrigé lui-même après relecture). En dépit de nombreuses ressemblances de *ductus*, il n'est pas non plus le quatrième copiste du recueil de Soissons, celui qui a transcrit d'après une édition imprimée après le 9 avril 1509, sur les ff. 85r-91r, l'*Entreprise de Venise* pour achever le cahier 8 et donc le manuscrit primitif. Georges d'Halluin ne semble pas être intervenu lui-même sur ce manuscrit primitif. L'aurait-il acheté déjà constitué? L'aurait-il fait copier sans intervenir sur lui, aucun des quatre textes du volume primitif n'étant son œuvre? Toutes questions qui restent actuellement sans réponse.

Il semble toutefois possible d'affirmer que c'est la présence du deuxième texte, le *Livre des trois dames* — qui fait nettement allusion aux événements politiques et militaires des mois d'août et septembre 1513 —, qui a dû conduire Georges d'Halluin à faire ajouter au volume primitif les deux derniers cahiers, porteurs de son *Livre de toutz langaiges* composé au cours de cette même année 1513.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> C'est aussi en 1513 que parurent à Paris, chez Josse Bade, les *Amores* de Remacle d'Ardenne, recueil que le poète avait dédié à Georges d'Halluin: d'après Matheeußen, 'De kennissenkring van de mecenas en humanist Georgius Haloinus', 116 et 124, n. 6. L'année 1513 semble avoir été une année importante dans la vie de l'auteur du *Livre de toutz langaiges*.



María Dolores GARCÍA DE PASO CARRASCO – Gregorio RODRÍGUEZ HERRERA

LOS POETAS CLÁSICOS EN LOS *COMENTARIOS*  
DE REINHARD LORICH Y JUAN DE MAL LARA  
A LOS *PROGYMNASMATA* DE AFTONIO:  
*SENTENTIA, CONFIRMATIO Y COMPARATIO\**

## 1. Rasgos generales de las ediciones

La edición de los *Comentarios a los Progymnasmata de Aftonio* de Reinhard Lorch<sup>1</sup> con una traducción ‘partim Agricola partim Cataneo’ data de 1543 y adquiere rápidamente una gran difusión llegando a realizar más de un centenar de reimpresiones. A esta fortuna contribuyó el hecho de que los *Progymnasmata* de Aftonio, traducidos por Rodolfo Agrícola (1442-1485) y Juan María Cataneo (¿-1530), fuesen incluidos por los jesuitas como obra de estudio en su *ratio studiorum*.<sup>2</sup> Así pues, la obra de Aftonio a través de la edición de Lorch se difunde ampliamente en los ámbitos escolares europeos, entre los que España no es una excepción<sup>3</sup>. Además, varios humanistas hispanos también dedicarán sus esfuerzos la

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<sup>1</sup> Reinhardus Lorchius Hadamarius (¿-1564), pastor protestante y profesor de retórica en la Universidad de Marburgo, destacó como comentarista de *Aphthonii Sophistae Progymnasmata* y editor de las *Tabulae Petri Mosellani de schematibus et tropis* y de la *Iuveni Hispani Evangelicae Historiae libri IIII*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Manfred Hinz, ‘Agudeza e Progymnasmata’, *The Jesuits and the Education of the Western World (16th –17th Centuries)*, *International Conference*, 21-22 June 2002, Georgetown University (<http://www.europadellecorti.it/Gesuiti/abstracts.htm> [Consulta: 21-04-04]). En este trabajo se cita como primera edición del comentario de Lorch 1543, aunque la más temprana que nosotros hemos podido localizar data de 1553, ‘apud Ch. Egenolphum’. También tenemos noticia de que hay un listado de estas ediciones en el *Index Aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum. Pars prima, tomus A (Aureliae Aquensis: Foundation Index Aureliensis, 1964)*, V; 15-21.

<sup>3</sup> La vinculación entre el comentario de Lorchio y la traducción vernácula de Palmireno ha sido estudiado por Violeta Pérez Custodio ‘Sobre el origen de los materiales contenidos

exégesis y aprovechamiento docente del sofista griego.<sup>4</sup> En primer lugar, El Brocense realizará un primer y escueto comentario de Aftonio siguiendo la traducción de Agrícola y Francisco Escobar y otro parcial a partir de su propia traducción latina.<sup>5</sup> Una década después Juan de Mal Lara volverá sobre este mismo *Progymnasmata* para publicar su propio comentario a partir nuevamente de la traducción de Agrícola.

La edición de los *Comentarios a Aftonio* de Mal Lara<sup>6</sup> se publican en la imprenta sevillana de Alonso Escribano<sup>7</sup> en 1567, pero la prematura muerte del sevillano en 1571 debió de influir en su escasa difusión en los años posteriores, hasta el punto de que actualmente es una obra casi desconocida<sup>8</sup> y de la que se conservan escasísimos ejemplares.<sup>9</sup>

en los “Progymnasmata” de Palmireno’, en *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo Clásico: Homenaje al Prof. Antonio Fontán*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre e.a. (Alcañiz-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – Laberinto, 2002), pp. 245-259.

<sup>4</sup> Sobre la fortuna de los *Progymnasmata* en el XVI cf. Luisa López Grigera, ‘Notas sobre “Progymnasmata” en la España del siglo XVI’, en *Humanismo y Pervivencia del Mundo Clásico*, pp. 585-590; Jean-Claude Margolin, ‘La rhétorique d’Aphthonius et son influence au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, en Raymond Chevallier (ed.), *Colloque sur la Rhétorique. Calliope I, Caesarodunum*, 14bis (París: Les Belles Lettres, 1979), pp. 239-269.

<sup>5</sup> *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata rhetorica, Rodolpho Agricola interprete, cum scholiis nuper additis per Franciscum Sanctium Brocensem* (Salamanca: Andreas a Portonariis, 1556); *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata, hoc est, primae apud rhetores exercitationes Francisco Scobario interprete* (Barcelona: Claudius Bornatius, 1558).

<sup>6</sup> Juan de Mal Lara nació en Sevilla en torno a 1524. Estudiante en Salamanca en donde entabla amistad con El Brocense, también es discípulo de Francisco Escobar en la Universidad de Barcelona. Tras este periplo vuelve a Sevilla en 1548 en donde termina su formación y abre su Estudio de gramática y latinidad. Muy apreciado entre sus contemporáneos falleció en 1571. Sus obras más relevantes son la *Filosofía Vulgar* (1568) y las obras pedagógicas *In Aphthonii Progymnasmata scholia* (1567) y la *In Syntaxin Scholia* (1567). Sobre diferentes aspectos de la biografía de Mal Lara cf. Federico Sánchez Escribano, *Juan de Mal Lara. Su vida y su obra* (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1941); Rocío Carande Herrero, *Mal Lara y Lepanto* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1990), pp. 11-20; María Inmaculada Osuna Rodríguez, *Las traducciones poéticas en la Filosofía Vulgar de Juan de Mal Lara* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1994), pp. 27-39; Luis Merino Jerez, ‘El Brocense y Juan de Mal Lara: una amistad inexplorada’, *Revista de estudios latinos*, 2 (2002), 149-168.

<sup>7</sup> Sobre la imprenta de Alonso Escribano cf. Francisco Escudero y Pedrosó, *Tipografía hispalense. Anales bibliográficos de la Ciudad de Sevilla desde el establecimiento de la imprenta hasta fines del siglo XVIII* (Pamplona: Analecta, 2000), pp. 27-28.

<sup>8</sup> Se han tratado los comentarios de Mal Lara a propósito de la organización de los ejercicios preliminares de retórica en los humanistas españoles que comentan, siguen o traducen a Aftonio; esto es, El Brocense, Francisco Escobar, Juan de Mal Lara, Alfonso de Torres, Pedro Juan Núñez, Juan Lorenzo Palmireno y Bartolomé Bravo. Cf. Violeta López Custodio, ‘La síncretis de Quintiliano y Aftonio en el XVI: a propósito de los “Progymnasmata”’, en Tomas Albaladejo e.a. (eds), *Quintiliano: historia y actualidad de la retórica*, Quintiliano de retórica y comunicación, 2, 3 vols (La Rioja: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1998), III, 1457-1467. Sobre la influencia de Mal Lara en su discípulo Juan de

La decisión de comparar los comentarios de Lorch y Mal Lara, en principio puede resultar sorprendente, ya que el sevillano afirma en más de una ocasión que sigue a su maestro Francisco Escobar y, en cambio, jamás nombra a Lorch. No obstante, de Escobar sólo contamos con el comentario a la fábula y no a todos los ejercicios<sup>10</sup>, por lo que para comentar el resto de los ejercicios no es posible recurrir a él. En cuanto a Lorch ya hemos señalado la importancia y difusión de su comentario. Por otro lado, hay algunas evidencias en el texto de Mal Lara que nos hacen pensar que consultó el comentario de Lorch: como ejemplo sirva el error común, a propósito de la entrada *Irum vides*, en la que ambos remiten a Hom., *Od.*, 12 en lugar de a *Od.*, 15. Este error es muy significativo y podría explicarse si Mal Lara lo tomó de Lorch, pues el texto homérico, como es bien sabido, ya presentaba desde la misma época griega una división en cantos que ha permanecido inalterable hasta la actualidad.

Aún así, ambos textos presentan, a simple vista, importantes diferencias pues los comentarios de Lorch son mucho más extensos y pormenorizados que los de Mal Lara que están más cerca de notas para impartir una lección que de un comentario minucioso. Asimismo, como ya hemos dicho, Lorch toma su traducción de la que fusiona las de Agrícola y Cataneo, mientras que Mal Lara sigue fielmente a Agrícola; de ahí que la traducción de Aftonio de la que parte el comentario presente en uno y otro algunas variantes. También es muy significativo que en Lorch encontremos numerosas referencias a autores cristianos, así como textos de los *Psalmos* y que sus referencias a humanistas sean escasas, excepto Erasmo y sus *Adagia*.<sup>11</sup> En cambio, en Mal Lara encontramos continúa-

Guzmán cf. Violeta López Custodio, 'A propósito de las fuentes de unos pasajes sobre progymnasmata en el "Combite de oradores" de Juan de Guzmán', *Excerpta Philologica*, 10-12 (2000-2002), 373-394. Sobre Mal Lara y Escobar a propósito de la fábula cf. Trinidad Arcos Pereira – María Elisa Cuyás de Torres 'Los comentarios a los "Progymnasmata" de Aphthonio de Escobar y Mal Lara: estudio preliminar' en *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo clásico IV*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre e.a. (en prensa).

<sup>9</sup> En breve podrá consultarse una moderna edición en Trinidad Arcos Pereira e.a. (eds), *Juan de Mal Lara I. Obra retórica. Los Comentarios a los Progymnasmata de Aftonio* (en prensa).

<sup>10</sup> Mal Lara afirma en el prólogo a Alvaro de Portugal, en las palabras que dedica al lector y en la lista de autores que sigue los *dicta Scobaris*, es decir, que debía de tener no una edición completa de un supuesto comentario a Aftonio sino anotaciones tomadas en las clases.

<sup>11</sup> En ediciones posteriores el comentario de Lorch sufrió también el rigor de la censura como la de Brixiae de 1614, en la que el nombre de Erasmo o bien es eliminado o bien es sustituido en los *proverbia* por el de Manuzio y en la que los ejemplos que Lorch

mente referencias de otros autores renacentistas como Alexander Alexandri, Bulcodianus, Petrus Ramus, Stobaeus, Strabeus, Ravisius Textor, Rhodiginus o Trapezuntius entre otros.<sup>12</sup> Por otro lado, la presencia de autores griegos en Lorich es mayor que en Mal Lara y, además, mientras que en éste último no encontramos ni una sola gráfica griega — probablemente por problemas de imprenta —, en Lorich abundan. En cualquier caso, es significativo que éste no siempre cite de la misma forma y así, unas veces sólo encontramos la referencia al autor griego o el texto griego propiamente, mientras que en otras los acompaña de su traducción latina o sólo aparece la traducción, como en el siguiente ejemplo tomado de la *sententia*:

*Optimum id augurium etc.: Εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης*<sup>13</sup>? Sumptus est ex Homer. 12 Iliad.: ubi Hector auguria reliqua negligens loquitur (Erasmus interprete) ad hunc modum:

Aligeris avibus tu me parere iubes nunc,  
quarum nulla mihi cura aut respectus, utrumne  
ad dextram Eoi veniant mihi Solis ad ortum,  
an laevam. Ad Solem occiduum, noctisque tenebras.  
Verum nos Jovis arbitrio parere necessum est  
altisonantis. Hic imperium tenet unus in omnes  
quotquot mortales, quotquot sunt morte carentes.  
Una avis optima, pro propria pugnare tuenda.

## 2. Los Comentarios al *Progymnasmata* de Aftonio de Lorich y de Mal Lara: paralelos y divergencias

Para realizar este análisis nos hemos centrado en la presencia de los poetas en sus comentarios y hemos limitado nuestro campo a tres ejercicios: la *sententia*, la *confirmatio* y la *comparatio*.

afirma haber tomado de Petrus Mosellanus — humanista vinculado a Lutero — se mantienen, pero eliminando toda referencia a su autor. Cf. *Aphthonii sophistae progymnasmata. Partim a Rodolpho Agricola, partim a Ioanne Maria Cataneo latinitate donata. Cum scholiis Reinhardi Lorichii Hadamarii, damnati auctoris, olim aeditis a prohibitis, nunc iussu superiorum expurgatis et permissis* (Brixiae: Officina Thomae Bozzola, 1614).

<sup>12</sup> Muchos de estos humanistas coinciden con los citados por Mal Lara en su *Filosofía Vulgar*. Cf. Juan de Mal Lara, *Obras completas I. Philosophía Vulgar*, ed. Manuel Bernal Rodríguez (Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 1996). Algunos de los humanistas presentes en su comentario, como Ravisius Textor, sabemos que formaban parte de la biblioteca particular del sevillano. Cf. Manuel Bernal Rodríguez, 'La biblioteca de Juan de Mal Lara', *Philologia Hispalensis*, 4 (1986), 391-405. Asimismo, sobre la circulación de libros entre los humanistas sevillanos cf. Pedro Ruiz Pérez, 'Observaciones sobre libros y lecturas en círculos cultos (a propósito de Mal Lara y el humanismo sevillano)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 100/1 (1998), 53-68.

<sup>13</sup> Hom., *Il.*, 12, 243.

Una primera valoración nos muestra que tanto los comentarios de Lorch como los de Mal Lara presentan diferentes intereses, dependiendo de cuál de estos ejercicios se esté comentando. Además, aún cuando hay ciertos aspectos, en los que ambos autores coinciden, son más las veces en que cada uno muestra una perspectiva diferente y, por supuesto, son numerosas las ocasiones en las que comentan términos diferentes.<sup>14</sup> En cuanto a lo que se refiere a los poetas clásicos, en Lorch hay mayor presencia de Ovidio, mientras que en Mal Lara es Virgilio el más citado. Asimismo, Homero, Horacio y Juvenal aparecen también con asiduidad en ambos comentarios, sin embargo, la diferencia más evidente entre ambos es que en Mal Lara se recurre a Marcial mucho más que en Lorch, que reduce su presencia a mínimos.

Seguiremos para cada uno de los ejercicios el orden en el que aparecen en Aftonio y sus ediciones; estos es, *sententia*, *confirmatio* y *comparatio*.

### 3. Los Comentarios a la *sententia*

Hay que destacar que en este ejercicio Mal Lara no presenta ejemplos de *sententiae* y se limita a remitirnos a diferentes repertorios en las que se recogen, mientras que, sin embargo, recurre a numerosos *adagia*. Igualmente, resulta sorprendente la falta de ejemplos de *sententiae*, dado que de los poetas clásicos se extraen muchas de ellas, lo que, quizás, se pueda explicar porque ya en la *Filosofía Vulgar* (1568) se estaba centrando en la paremiología, en la que sí toma ejemplos de poetas clásicos para mostrar el origen de los refranes. Sirve de muestra el comentario al refrán ‘a quien Dios quiere bien la hormiga le va a buscar’<sup>15</sup>:

Dízese, porque a donde va la hormiga, ay trigo, y assí el que lo tiene, lo quiere Dios bien. Es lo que dize Ovidio<sup>16</sup>, quexándose de sus amigos:

Las hormigas jamás van a granero  
Que sienten que no tiene ningún trigo:  
Assí hazen los hombres lisongeros,  
Que adonde no ay riqueza, no va amigo

<sup>14</sup> Asimismo, Lorch presenta en los diferentes ejercicios ejemplos propios, mientras que Mal Lara no. Sobre el origen de estos ejemplos cf. Violeta López Custodio ‘Sobre el origen de los materiales contenidos en los “Progymnasmata” de Palmireno’.

<sup>15</sup> Mal Lara, *Obras Completas I*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>16</sup> Ov., *trist.*, I, 9, 9-10: ‘horrea formicae tendunt ad inania numquam: I nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes’.

El gran trabajo de la hormiga, en juntar trigo para su año, diráse en el refrán  
*no ay tal doctrina como la de la hormiga ...*

En la *sententia* tanto Lorich como Mal Lara coinciden al comentar los modelos con los que ejemplifica Aftonio y están interesados en mostrar sus fuentes, así como, también, su proyección popular a través de los *Adagia* de Erasmo.<sup>17</sup> Ahora bien, en alguna ocasión donde Lorich recoge un *adagium*, Mal Lara, además de ese mismo, añade otros. Es más, a veces, su único comentario al texto es simplemente un *adagium*. Parece, pues, que el sevillano pretende mostrar más ejemplos de la vertiente vulgar o popular de estas *gnomai*.

Ejemplos en los que tan sólo encontramos en Mal Lara *adagia* como único comentario pueden ser: *multos esse malum* (Er., *Ad.*, 2, 7, 7: ‘Multitudo imperatorum Cariam perdidit’) o *quales amicos* (Er., *Ad.*, 1, 10, 74: ‘corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia prava’). Incluso hay un caso — *optimum augurium* — en el que entrada y *adagium* coinciden: Er., *Ad.*, 3, 1, 57.

En cuanto al empleo por Mal Lara de más *adagia* que Lorich tenemos como ejemplo el comentario a *pecuniis opus est* en el que Lorich cita uno sólo — ‘*pecuniae obediunt omnia*’ (Er., *Ad.*, 1, 3, 87) — y, sin embargo, Mal Lara multiplica las referencias a Erasmo, añadiendo a *pecuniae obediunt omnia* estos otros: *pecunia anima* (Er., *Ad.*, 2, 3, 89) y *pecuniae vir* (Er., *Ad.*, 2, 8, 35).

Como ya hemos señalado el interés por señalar las fuentes es evidente y, así, en la expresión *oportet hospitem* de Mal Lara que en Lorich aparece con la variante *oportet amicum*, ambos remiten a Hom., *Od.*, 15.<sup>18</sup>

Oportet hospitem praesentem amare, volentem vero mittere

χρή ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν

En cuanto al *Turpe quiete* sólo Lorich nos remite a la fuente Hom., *Il.*, 2, 24:

οὐ χρή παννύχιον εὔδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,

pero, además, ambos añaden un *adagium*, concretamente ‘non decet principem solidam dormire noctem’ (Er., *Ad.*, 2, 7, 95).

<sup>17</sup> Varias obras de Erasmo formaban parte de la biblioteca de Mal Lara y, de hecho, sus *Adagia* también son muy citados en la *Filosofía Vulgar*. Cf. Bernal Rodríguez, ‘La biblioteca de Juan de Mal Lara’, 391-405; Federico Sánchez Escribano, *Los Adagia de Erasmo en La Philosophia Vulgar de Mal Lara* (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1946).

<sup>18</sup> Concretamente Hom., *Od.*, 15, 74.

Junto a este interés por el origen específico de la *sententia*, también encontramos en ella referencias o textos de poetas clásicos que siguen la misma línea que los de la *confirmatio* y la *comparatio*; esto es, algunos corroboran lo dicho por Aftonio y otros apoyan lo señalado por nuestros humanistas.

### 3.1. Referencias o textos que corroboran lo dicho por Aftonio

En el comentario a *improbissima faciet*, Lorch corrobora el texto de Aftonio remitiendo a Hor., *carm.*, 3, 24, 42-44:

magnum pauperies opprobrium  
iubet quidvis et facere et pati  
virtutisque viam deserit arduae?

En esta misma línea encontramos el comentario a *Nequit exerceri ad virtutem* en el que los versos de Juvenal coinciden con lo afirmado en el texto de Aftonio:

haut facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat  
res angusta domi (...) (Iuv., 3, 164-165)  
  
(...) neque enim cantare  
sub antro Pierio thyrsusque potest contingere maesta  
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque  
corpus eget (...) (Iuv., 7, 59-62)

### 3.2. Referencias o textos que apoyan lo señalado por los humanistas

En este tipo nos encontramos adiciones y precisiones al texto de Aftonio. Por ejemplo, en el comentario de la *sententia* de Aftonio ‘oportet hospitum praesentem amare, volentem uero mittere’, Mal Lara, además de mostrar la fuente como ya hemos visto, añade que en ‘in Hesiodo in Erga’ se contiene una idea similar: es probable que se refiera a Hes., *op.*, 342-344:

Τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἔᾶσαι  
τὸν δὲ μάλιστα καλεῖν ὅστις σέθεν ἐγγύθι ναίει·

o a Hes., *op.*, 353-354:

τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν, καὶ τῷ προσίοντι προσεῖναι.  
καὶ δόμεν ὅς κεν δῶ καὶ μὴ δόμεν ὅς κεν μὴ δῶ·

En el comentario a *pecuniis opus est* cuyo origen habían establecido ambos humanistas<sup>19</sup>, Lorch amplifica el texto de Aftonio y nos habla no

<sup>19</sup> Incluso cuando la fuente de la *sententia* es un prosista el procedimiento es el mismo. Así en el comentario a *pecuniis opus est* — del que ya hemos hablado a propósito de

ya de la necesidad, sino del poder del dinero y para ello recurre a Hor., *epist.*, 1, 6, 36-38:

scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos  
et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat  
ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.

Por otro lado en los comentarios a este ejercicio vemos de manera evidente las interferencias ideológicas de los humanistas en el comentario, pues el tema de la pobreza tratado por Aftonio desde una mentalidad griega es reconducido por Lorch al ámbito cristiano. Así, en la traducción del *exemplum* de la *sententia*, Lorch no sigue a Agricola — ‘vivens in paupertate praecipitem mittere se quo ipsam vitet non dubitet’ — sino a Cataneo — ‘qui vitam in miseria ducit, mori potius amet’. Al comentar este texto sostiene que este argumento suele tratarse para ejercitar el estilo y el ingenio y no porque la pobreza sea motivo de suicidio. Es más, sostiene que la pobreza nos conduce al cielo y acude, para aseverar su opinión, a la autoridad de Crisóstomo pues ‘paupertas est manuctrix in via quae ducit ad coelum’. Es, asegura, la perversidad de los hombres la que ha llevado a considerar digno de honor sólo al rico, de modo que los versos de Juvenal que acabamos de ver corroborando el texto de Aftonio de ningún modo expresan su opinión.<sup>20</sup> Insiste en la idea de que la pobreza no es un mal con el razonamiento contrario en *pecuniae corrumpetur* y recurre a Menandro para decir:

Καλῶς πένεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πλουτεῖν κακῶς.<sup>21</sup> *Id est honestius est pauperem esse quam iniuste divitem.*

En cuanto a Mal Lara, el humanista, al comentar el sintagma *in mare*, del verso de Teognis — ‘in mare fluctuagum, ne te premat aspera egestas, | desili et a celsis corruet, Cyrne, iugis’ — coincide con Lorch, aunque partan de términos diferentes, en no considerar el suicidio como medio de huir de la pobreza. Mal Lara suaviza el contenido de Teognis con versos

los *Adagia* — ambos coinciden también en establecer el origen de la *sententia*, Mal Lara remitiendo a Demóstenes sin más y Lorch señalando que el pasaje es de la *Olintiaca* primera: δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων. (Dem., 1, 20, 6-7).

<sup>20</sup> Incluso en la edición censurada de Brixiae de 1614, y por si quedaba alguna duda, se añade al comentario original de Lorch la siguiente precisión: ‘quod tamen iuxta veritatem Christianam est falsum, cum virtus satisfacit ad hominem felicem reddendum’.

<sup>21</sup> Men., *Mon.*, 1, 300.



de Horacio en los que el lanzarse al mar tiene como objetivo la búsqueda de riqueza, pero no la muerte:

mercator metuens otium et oppidi  
laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates  
quassas indocilis pauperiem pati. (Hor., *carm.*, 1, 1, 16-18)

(...) curris mercator ad Indos,  
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis (Hor., *epist.*, 1, 1, 45-46)

Estos versos vinculados al mar y al comercio con una referencia además a los *Indos* podrían llevarnos a pensar que Mal Lara, sevillano no sólo de nacimiento sino también de residencia y magisterio en el momento de la publicación de sus comentarios a Aftonio, está pensando en la riqueza que llega a través del mar a Sevilla — Puerto de Indias — y a las posibilidades que Las Indias ofrecían para huir de la pobreza. Dado el carácter esquemático de sus comentarios quizás estemos ante un ejemplo de adaptación del texto de Aftonio a la realidad que sus propios alumnos podían vivir en la ciudad hispalense.

#### 4. Los Comentarios a la *confirmatio*

En la *confirmatio* la diferencia entre Lorch y Mal Lara se acentúa, pues mientras que en el primero hay una mayor presencia de poetas clásicos y nuevamente una serie de comentarios de carácter moral, en el segundo los textos se reducen y su comentario se sitúa en el ámbito de la filosofía natural. En cualquier caso se sigue manteniendo la misma estructura de referencias o textos de poetas que corroboran lo dicho por Aftonio y otros que apoyan lo señalado por los humanistas.

##### 4.1. Referencias o textos que corroboran lo dicho por Aftonio

En la entrada *Multae mutationes* Lorch, siguiendo a Aftonio, insiste en su comentario en el carácter perecedero y volátil de la belleza y así ilustra este tópico habitual en la literatura con los siguientes versos de Ovidio:

Forma bonum fragile est, quantumque accedit ad annos  
fit minor, et spatio carpitur ipsa suo.  
Nec violae semper nec hiantia lilia florent,  
et riget amissa spina relictæ rosa.  
Et tibi iam venient cani, formosæ, capilli,  
iam venient rugæ, quæ tibi corpus ærent.

Iam molire animum, qui duret, et adstrue formae:  
solus ad extremos permanet ille rogos. (Ov., *ars*, 2, 113-120)

ista decens facies longis vitiabitur annis,  
rugaque in antiqua fronte senilis erit,  
inicietque manum formae damnosa senectus,  
quae strepitus passu non faciente venit (Ov., *trist.*, 3, 7, 33-36)

#### 4.2. Referencias o textos que apoyan lo señalado por los humanistas

A propósito de *Musis instincti*, Lorich aporta al texto de Aftonio un nuevo contenido: la inspiración se debe a la divinidad y a Apolo en tanto que preside el coro de las Musas. Para corroborar esta adición ofrece los siguientes pasajes de poetas latinos:

Raptoris thalamos audaci promere cantu  
mens congesta iubet. Gressus removete, profani.  
Iam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus  
expulit et totum spirant praecordia Phoebum  
(Claud., *De Raptu Proserpinae*, 1, 3-6)<sup>22</sup>

Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo  
impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet. (Ov., *Fast.*, 6, 5-6)

Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli:  
sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit. (Ov., *Ars*, 3, 549-550)

Lorich no sólo ofrece textos que apoyan la inspiración divina, como ya hemos tratado, sino que además introduce una perspectiva nueva no presente en Aftonio y que vuelve a situar su comentario en un plano que podríamos considerar moral, pues insiste en el valor del trabajo: si alguien quiere ser amigo de las Musas necesita esfuerzo y para ilustrarlo se sirve de Prop., 3, 1, 14: ‘non datur ad Musas currere lata via’. Este verso propertiano se incluye en una elegía considerada programática que poco tiene que ver con lo amoroso. Estaríamos, pues, ante un poema sobre crítica literaria en el que Propertio hace un elogio de la obra pulida: ‘exactus tenui pumice versus eat’ (Prop., 1, 3, 8).

Otro caso similar es el de *superabat facie*, en donde Lorich incorpora un nuevo aspecto al texto de Aftonio, cuando afirma la existencia de tres tipos de belleza: la digna de elogio — ‘laudabilem esse ut formosam

<sup>22</sup> Lorich presenta el texto de Claudiano con algunas variantes. Cf.: ‘Iunonis thalamos audaci prodere cantu | mens concussa iubet. Gressus removete, profani. | Iam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus | expulit et solum spirant praecordia Phoebum’.

faciem' —, la útil — 'aliam usui deservire' — y la procedente del esfuerzo — 'tertiā legibus studiisque constare (...) haec in aeternum perdurans omnium est preciosissima'. Así, al hilo de la tercera — la más importante para él — recurre a Ov., *trist.*, 3, 7, 41-44:

nempe addit cuicumque libet Fortuna rapitque,  
Irus et est subito, qui modo Croesus erat.  
singula ne referam, nil non mortale tenemus  
pectoris exceptis ingenique bonis.

En este ejercicio de la *confirmatio*, merece una especial atención el comentario de Lorch a *virtutes labore comparantur*. Para ilustrar que la virtud sólo se alcanza con el esfuerzo recurre a unos versos de la *Antología latina* que podrían incluirse entre aquellos que corroboran el texto de Aftonio:

Et via virtutis dextrum petit ardua callem  
difficilemque aditum primo spectantibus offert,  
sed requiem praebet fessis in vertice summo. (*Anthologia Latina* 632.3-5)

El aspecto destacable del comentario a este pasaje es que el humanista considera la alegoría la persecución de Apolo a Dafne, siguiendo la interpretación que se extendió en la Edad Media<sup>23</sup> y que se refleja en la traducción de Cataneo — 'ipsa vero virtus Daphne' — adoptada por él. Así pues, Dafne es la virtud y la virtud es deseable, muy difícil de alcanzar y sólo se consigue con esfuerzo. Desde esta perspectiva el verso: 'sed requiem praebet fessis in vertice summo' adquiere una nueva dimensión: el premio por tanto esfuerzo para alcanzar la virtud es la paz en el cielo.

Además, si recordamos que en su comentario a *Musis instincti* también señalaba la necesidad de esfuerzo para aquellos que aspiran a las Musas ('qui ad Musas adspirant opus habent non parve inquisitione atque labore') podemos comprobar la importancia que concede al trabajo, concepto muy acorde con su condición de protestante.

Los comentarios de Mal Lara muestran distintos intereses ya que se centra más en la filosofía natural que en cuestiones morales. Por otro lado, cuando comenta el mismo pasaje que Lorch a propósito de *virtutes labore comparantur* — con la entrada *et labore opus est* —, recurriendo a un verso de Plauto, insiste más en que se logra alcanzar aquello que se

<sup>23</sup> Ya en el Ovidio moralizado encontramos que Dafne es la encarnación de la castidad que con su fuerza moral vence a Apolo y transformada en laurel siempre verde alcanza la vida eterna o también que Dafne es la prudencia y Apolo el casto que la persigue.

persigue que en la dificultad de alcanzarlo: ‘fortiter malum qui patitur, idem post potitur bonum’ (Plaut., *Asin.*, 324).

Su inclinación por cuestiones relacionadas con el origen de las cosas se evidencia en el comentario a *nonne rebus omnibus aqua et terra sunt origo*. En el ejemplo de Aftonio, Dafne y Apolo son las figuras centrales, sin embargo Mal Lara focaliza su comentario en que la tierra y el agua son los elementos primigenios y establece un paralelismo entre la procreación de Dafne, hija de la tierra y de un río, con Egipto bañado por el Nilo, que igualmente produce abundancia de criaturas. En cualquier caso este ejemplo debe entenderse como una mera disertación erudita que ejemplifica en el texto de Ov., *met.*, 1, 422-433:

Sic, ubi deseruit madidos septemfluus agros  
 Nilus et antiquo sua flumina reddidit alveo  
 aetheroque recens exarsit sidere limus,  
 plurima cultores versis animalia glaebis  
 inveniunt et in his quaedam modo coepta per ipsum  
 nascendi spatium, quaedam imperfecta suisque  
 trunca vident numeris, et eodem in corpore saepe  
 altera pars vivit, rudis est pars altera tellus.  
 Quippe ubi temperiem sumpsere umorque calorque,  
 concipiunt, et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus,  
 cumque sit ignis aquae pugnax, vapor umidus omnes  
 res creat, et discors concordia fetibus apta est.

Por último, en la entrada *Dii enim (extra complexum providentiae suae ne arbusta quidem reliquerunt)* Mal Lara, aun cuando el texto admite comentarios de carácter religioso, ofrece recurriendo al pasaje de Virgilio la visión pitagórica del mundo: ‘Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis’ (Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 724).

De manera que, como hemos venido mostrando, frente a un Lorch más centrado en aspectos morales, casi religiosos, el interés de Mal Lara se dirige a la filosofía griega sobre el origen del mundo.

## 5. Los comentarios a la *comparatio*

La *comparatio* en el comentario de Lorch presenta la característica de estar muy centrada en el mito de Héctor y Aquiles, sin embargo no son los autores griegos los que confirman y amplían el texto de Aftonio, sino versos de poetas latinos, ya que Lorch traslada el mito griego a la lite-

ratura latina. Así los ejemplos que se citan a continuación responden a este criterio. Los comentarios pueden de nuevo subdividirse en:

### 5.1. *Textos que corroboran lo dicho por Afonio*

En *Troiae conditores* los textos dan fe de la intervención de Apolo y Neptuno en la construcción de Troya

utilius starent etiamnunc moenia Phoebi (Ov., *epist.*, 1, 67)

(...) ceciditque superbum

Ilium et omnis humo fumat Neptunia Troia (Verg., *Aen.*, 3, 2-3)

En *Peles* la edición de Lorich cita el libro sexto de *Metamorfosis*, aunque el origen de Éaco lo encontramos realmente en Ov., *met.*, 7, 475-479 y 615-619, de manera que nuevamente el poeta latino avala lo dicho en el comentario.

En cuanto a *Dardanus* la referencia a Ov., *fast.*, 4, 31-32 como texto que refiere el origen de Dárdano vuelve a estar en la misma línea que los anteriores:

Dardanon Electram quis nescit Atlantide natum  
scilicet, Electrae concubuisse Iovem?<sup>24</sup>

Caso aparte debemos considerar los comentarios a la muerte de Héctor y Aquiles respectivamente, pues en ellos podemos advertir cómo el peso de la tradición ha influido en los textos escogidos por Lorich. En el comentario a *victus a Pallade interiit* que es el punto de partida para comentar la muerte de Héctor el texto latino escogido para la corroboración es el de Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 483-484:

ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros  
exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.

El texto virgiliano no responde exactamente a la muerte de Héctor por voluntad de Atenea, sino que insiste en el episodio posterior de su ultraje y rescate, que sin duda ha tenido una mayor trascendencia y fortuna en la tradición posterior y, además, se ha escogido el pasaje en el que Eneas ve esa escena en las puertas labradas del templo de Cartago. Por el contrario al referirse a la muerte de Aquiles — *Ab Apolline* —, aunque vuelve

<sup>24</sup> Lorich presenta nuevamente variantes sobre el texto ovidiano: 'Dardanon Electra nesciret Atlantide natum | scilicet, Electran concubuisse Ioui?'

a escoger un texto virgiliano, éste sí responde con exactitud a lo expuesto en el comentario, probablemente porque la muerte de Aquiles a causa de su vulnerable talón es precisamente el episodio que la tradición ha recogido y transmitido con más fuerza:

Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,  
Dardana qui Paridis dexti tela manusque  
corpus in Aeacidae (...) (Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 56-58)

e insiste en la muerte de Aquiles por la flecha guiada por Apolo en el texto de Ov., *met.*, 13, 501: ‘at postquam cecidit Paridis Phoebique sagittis’.

## 5.2. Referencias o textos que apoyan lo señalado por los humanistas

### 5.2.1. Versos que simplemente atestiguan el uso de un término

Respecto a *Phthia* los textos se limitan a ofrecer pasajes en que es empleado el término en la poesía latina:

non ego sum Pthias magnisque oriunda Mycenis (Ov., *epist.*, 7, 165)  
quam sine me Pthiis canescant aequora remis (Ov., *epist.*, 3, 67)

### 5.2.2. Versos que concretan o aclaran el comentario de Aftonio

A partir del comentario a *deae coniugium* — Aftonio no especifica de qué diosa se trata — el humanista sí concreta y nombra a Tetis, empleando para ello tres citas:

teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis (Verg., *georg.*, 1, 29)  
hinc latrat Gaetula Thetis Lilybaeaeque pulsat  
brachia (...) (Claud., *De Raptu Proserpinae*, 1, 150-151)

y, por último, Verg., *Aen.*, 5, 825, en la que, sin embargo, Lorch ha confundido a Tetis, esposa de Peleo y madre de Aquiles, con Tetis, esposa de Océano: ‘laeva tenet Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo’.

### 5.2.3. Versos que amplían el texto de Aftonio

En el caso de *Lapitis devictis* Lorch se inclina por un comentario de tipo etnográfico, declara que los lapitas son de Tesalia e insiste en el carácter de héroes culturales al destacar que son los inventores del bocado y de la silla, corroborando su comentario con textos de Virgilio y Lucano. El primero nos habla de los frenos:

frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere  
 impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis  
 insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos (Verg., *georg.*, 3, 115-117)

y el segundo de su origen tesálico

exiluit, primus chalybem frenosque momordit  
 Thessalicus sonipes, bellis feralibus omen,  
 spumavitque novis Lapithae domitoris habenis.<sup>25</sup> (Lucan., 6, 396)

Hasta aquí Lorch ha presentado sus aportaciones al texto de Aftonio, sin embargo no podemos considerar esta taxonomía de manera inflexible puesto que el propio humanista mezcla en su comentario diferentes rasgos, de manera que ahora añade una referencia a Ovidio, concretamente a *Met.* 12<sup>26</sup>, sobre la lucha de Peleo con los lapitas que recoge lo dicho por Aftonio en su comentario, con lo que estrictamente este último ejemplo habría que considerarlo como parte del primero de los apartado, es decir, de textos latinos que corroboran lo dicho por Aftonio.

Por último, encontramos comentarios en torno a *A Chirone educatus* que insisten además de en la relación de maestro que mantenía con Aquiles, en su genealogía — hijo de Filira y Saturno — y su metamorfosis en el signo zodiacal Sagitario. Para ello, recurre nuevamente a textos latinos que confirman el comentario:

Phillyrides puerum cithara perfecit Achillem,  
 Atque animos placida contudit arte feros.  
 Qui totiens socios, totiens exterruit hostes,  
 Creditur annosum pertimuisse senem.  
 Quas Hector sensurus erat, poscente magistro  
 Verberibus iussas praebuit ille manus.  
 Aeacidae Chiron, ego sum praeceptor Amoris (Ov., *ars*, 1, 10-17)

nona dies aderat, cum tu, iustissime Chiron,  
 bis septem stellis corpora cinctus eras. (Ov., *fast.*, 5, 413-414)

Sin embargo los intereses de Mal Lara en el comentario a la *comparatio* son muy diferentes. El interés por el mito y las figuras de Héctor y Aquiles es mucho menor; se limita a decir que sobre estos héroes hablaron

<sup>25</sup> Nuevamente Lorch ofrece un texto, ahora de Lucano, con variantes: 'Thessalicus sonipes, bellis feralibus omen, | exiluit, primus chalybem frenosque momordit | spumavitque novis Lapithae domitoris habenis'.

<sup>26</sup> Lorch equivoca la referencia, pues este pasaje se encuentra en Ov., *met.*, 12, 366-392.

Homero, Ovidio y otros. Considera, pues, que este tema, sobradamente conocido, no merece más comentario. De todo el asunto mítico focaliza su atención en los héroes que comen a la mesa de los dioses y, así, a partir de la expresión *habitus convictu* referida a Dárdano, amplía el pasaje en su comentario con referencias a Eolo (Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 79), Tántalo (Pind., *Od.*, 1, 54-64), Prometeo (Hes., *Th.*, 535-589) y los etíopes (Hom., *Il.*, 1, 423-424), añadiendo una diferencia significativa con Lorich que es la referencia a poetas griegos y no sólo a los latinos.

Coinciden ambos humanistas en comentar dos pasajes del comentario de Aftonio, pero mientras que Lorich se ha detenido en aspectos no presentes en Aftonio, Mal Lara simplemente nos refiere el texto latino paralelo que confirma su interés por ese pasaje. Esos son los casos de *a Chirone educatus* en los que el sevillano simplemente remite a Estacio, *Aquileida*, en donde encontramos nuevamente pasajes sobre la relación maestro-discípulo como Stat., *Ach.*, 1, 116-158:

Nam tunc labor unus inermi  
Nosse salutiferas dubiis animantibus herbas  
Aut monstrare lyra veteres heroas alumno

o Stat., *Ach.*, 1., 864-869:

(...) tunc acer Ulixes  
admotus lateri summissa voce: "Quid haeres?  
scimus" ait, "tu semiferi Chironis alumnus,  
tu caeli pelagique nepos, te Dorica classis,  
te tua suspensis exspectat Graecia signis,  
ipsaque iam dubiis nutant tibi Pergama muris.

Y el otro pasaje es al que refiere con *hic autem cecidit* en el que la muerte de Aquiles a manos de Paris es corroborada con el mismo verso virgiliano al que recurre Lorich:

Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque  
corpus in Aeaecidae (...) (Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 58-59)

Ahora bien, la diferencia de Mal Lara con Lorich consiste en la mayor atención que presta a los tipos de comparación en los que aquel no se detiene. Así, Mal Lara establece tres tipos de comparación y proporciona ejemplos de cada uno con sendos epigramas de Marcial, autor hispano.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Marcial es también uno de los autores más citados y traducidos por Mal Lara en la *Filosofía Vulgar*. Cf. Osuna Rodríguez, *Las traducciones poéticas*. Este hecho no debe



Este hecho es muy relevante dado que tanto en la *sententia* como en la *confirmatio* los poetas eran utilizados para corroborar a Aftonio o sus propios comentarios, pero ésta es la única vez en la que Mal Lara recurre a un poeta para ejemplificar concretamente uno de estos ejercicios.<sup>28</sup>

Los tres tipos de comparación son de mayor a menor, entre iguales y de menor a mayor. En primer lugar, Mal Lara remite de manera general a la égloga primera de Virgilio, para después especificar cada tipo con Marcial. Como ejemplos a *maiore ad minus* remite a Mart., 2, 43 y Mart., 10, 79;<sup>29</sup> *inter paria* Mart., 12, 94<sup>30</sup> y Mart., 2, 18; y finalmente *ad minore ad maius* Mart., 3, 66<sup>31</sup> y Mart., 6, 11.<sup>32</sup>

Quod non sit Pylades hoc tempore, non sit Orestes,  
miraris? Pylades, Marce, bibebat idem,  
nec melior panis turdusve dabatur Orestae,  
sed par atque eadem cena duobus erat.  
Tu Lucrina voras, me pascit aquosa peloris:  
non minus ingenua est et mihi, Marce, gula.  
Te Cadmea Tyros, me pinguis Gallia vestit:  
vis te purpureum, Marce, sagatus amem?  
Ut praestem Pyladen, aliquis mihi praestet Oresten.  
Hoc non fit verbis, Marce: ut ameris, ama.

## 6. Conclusión

La presencia de los poetas no es gratuita, sino que tienen una clara finalidad: corroborar los comentarios de Aftonio o los de los humanistas. Éstos en su exégesis establecen paralelos, amplían o aportan información adicional a lo dicho por el rétor griego. Además, recurren a éstos para

extrañar dado que el bilbilitano será uno de los autores clásicos más queridos por los autores hispanos. Cf. Vicente Cristóbal, 'Marcial en la Literatura Española', en *Actas del Simposio sobre Marco Valerio Marcial* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1987), II, 149-210; John P. Sullivan, *Martial: the Unexpected Classic. A Literary and Historical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 253-312.

<sup>28</sup> También hay ejemplos en esta misma línea en el ejercicio de la fábula. Cf. Arcos Pereira – Cuyás de Torres, 'Los comentarios a los "Progymnasmata"'.  
<sup>29</sup> En la edición de Mal Lara (Mart., 10, 77).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* (Mart., 12, 96).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* (Mart., 3, 4).

<sup>32</sup> Es destacable que entre los ejemplos posibles de comparación Mal Lara haya escogido el texto de Marcial en el que se ejemplifica la amistad con los personajes míticos de Pylades y Orestes, puesto que El Brocense llamaba Pylades al humanista hispalense. Cf. Luis Merino Jerez, 'El Brocense y Juan de Mal Lara', 151.

refrendar sus interpretaciones. Es decir, actúan como autoridad que avala las afirmaciones de los humanistas al mismo tiempo que muestran sus conocimientos y su erudición. Por otro lado, en la mayor parte de las ocasiones, establecen una estrecha vinculación entre el texto griego y la poesía latina.

Otro aspecto destacable es la interpretación subjetiva de algunos pasajes de Aftonio. Así, Lorch ofrece en parte de su comentario una visión moralista, tanto del texto del sofista griego como de los poetas clásicos a los que recurre. Sin embargo Mal Lara, aunque no puede descartarse en algunos de sus comentarios cierta finalidad moralizadora, tiende más a centrarse en meros aspectos pedagógicos.

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EMBLEMÁTICA Y MEDICINA:  
DESCRIPCIÓN Y COMENTARIO DEL EMBLEMA DE  
JUAN SAMBUCO TITULADO *PARTES HOMINIS*\*

## 1. Introducción

En este trabajo estudiamos uno de los emblemas del famoso filólogo, historiador, poeta, médico y, en definitiva, polifacético humanista húngaro János Zsámboky, también conocido como Iohannes Sambucus.<sup>1</sup>

Dicho emblema está editado en su obra titulada *Emblemata*<sup>2</sup>, donde aparece en la página 118. Su título es *Partes hominis* y versa sobre cuestiones de medicina, más concretamente sobre la denominada ‘medicina astrológica’, pero antes de pasar a comentar más detenidamente dicho emblema, es preciso añadir algo sobre la vida de su autor.

\* Este trabajo se inscribe dentro del Proyecto de investigación *Edición crítica, traducción y estudio de los Emblemata centum regio-politica (Madrid, 1653) de Juan de Solórzano Pereira* (VA102A05), financiado por la Junta de Castilla y León. Por otra parte, queremos agradecer a los profesores Beatriz Antón Martínez, Gilbert Tournoy y Jan Papy sus observaciones y sugerencias, que han enriquecido este artículo.

<sup>1</sup> Un índice de la fama y renombre que alcanzó ya en su época es su inclusión en la famosa obra de Benito Arias Montano y Philips Galle: *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies XLIIII*, donde se recoge el retrato y elogio de cuarenta y cuatro humanistas ilustres. Cf. Benito Arias Montano – Philips Galle, *Virorum doctorum de disciplinis benemerentium effigies XLIIII: Cuarenta y cuatro retratos de sabios beneméritos en las artes liberales*, edd. Luis Gómez Canseco – Fernando Navarro Antolín, Biblioteca Montaniana, 11 (Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2004), pp. 182-183.

<sup>2</sup> Para este estudio, hemos empleado la *editio princeps*: Juan Sambuco, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis* (Amberes: Christophorus Plantinus, 1564), cuya portada reproducimos al final de este artículo, en la Figura 1. Todas las ilustraciones de dicha edición incluidas en este trabajo proceden de la reproducción digital realizada por la Herzog August Bibliothek en Wolfenbüttel y disponible en la siguiente dirección de Internet: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm>.

## 2. Juan Sambuco: Vida y obra<sup>3</sup>

Juan Sambuco nació el año 1531 en la ciudad de Nagyszombat, que, por entonces, pertenecía a Hungría y en la actualidad está situada en territorio eslovaco con el nombre de Trnava. De familia próspera y acomodada, entre 1542 y 1552 llevó a cabo una *peregrinatio academica* por diversas universidades europeas de Centro Europa y Francia, actividad esta que le permitió adquirir una excelente formación como humanista consiguiendo en 1552 el grado de *magister* en Filosofía en la Universidad de la Sorbona.

A partir de aquí se abre una nueva fase de su vida que se extiende desde 1553 a 1564 en la que continúa con sus viajes por Europa aprendiendo, enseñando, coleccionando libros y monedas e intentando conseguir un buen puesto de trabajo para poder ganarse la vida con sus actividades literarias y eruditas. Durante esta época es cuando realiza sus estudios de medicina en la universidad italiana de Padua donde obtiene el grado de licenciado en 1555, si bien no parece que fuera una disciplina que le entusiasmara mucho, más bien una manera de poder subsistir en caso de necesidad. Ese mismo año, huyendo de la peste bubónica, se dirige a Bolonia, donde Aquiles Bocchi acaba de publicar su *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri quinque*, una colección de ‘emblemas’, aunque todavía no sean denominados así.

En 1557 vuelve a Viena, a la corte de Fernando I, donde, tras colaborar como bibliotecario en la biblioteca imperial, alcanza el modesto título de *familiaris aulae*. Éste fue su primer paso en su aspiración para desarrollar una carrera en la corte.

De 1559 a 1564 trabajó como preceptor de jóvenes de buena familia como Jacobo Fugger, miembro de la famosa familia de banqueros, y siguió realizando viajes por Europa: Francia, Italia y Países Bajos. En 1563 Sambuco se encuentra en Gante, donde prepara la publicación de su colección de emblemas, compuestos unos años antes durante su segunda estancia en París entre los años 1560 y 1562.

Finalmente, en agosto de 1564, después de veintidós años de viajes, Sambuco se afincó en Viena comenzando una nueva y definitiva etapa en

<sup>3</sup> Para la confección de este apartado hemos empleado el reciente trabajo de Arnoud S.Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 128 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005). En la Figura 2 reproducimos el retrato de Sambuco a la edad de 33 años, tal como aparece en los *Emblemata*, cf. Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 8.

su vida prestando servicio a los Habsburgo, primero con Maximiliano II y, posteriormente, con Rodolfo II. En 1565 alcanzó el puesto de historiógrafo imperial como sucesor de Wolfgang Lazius, y en 1567 fue nombrado médico de la corte y obtuvo el título de *comes palatinus*. En torno a 1569 se convirtió en *consiliarius aulae*. En virtud de estos cargos y títulos, Sambuco desempeñaba no sólo las tareas propias de un erudito historiador y filólogo, sino que también asumía funciones de médico y secretario, si bien a un nivel secundario.

En 1575 se llevaría una gran decepción profesional, cuando el puesto de bibliotecario imperial (*praefectus bibliothecae*) fue a parar a manos de Hugo Blotius. No obstante, continuó al servicio del emperador hasta su muerte acaecida en Viena en el año 1584.

A lo largo de su vida y de sus viajes, Juan Sambuco coleccionó una gran cantidad de libros y monedas, y publicó diversas obras que van desde la cartografía hasta la edición de textos clásicos griegos y latinos, ya fueran de carácter didáctico y escolar como su edición de Homero (1550), o bien de naturaleza más filológica como su edición de los fragmentos de Petronio (1565). Aquí nos extenderemos algo más con sus *Emblemata*.

Sus *Emblemata* constituyen una de las obras más importantes e influyentes de la emblemática, aunque, paradójicamente, no parece que en vida de su autor hubieran sido considerados como su logro más importante.

Fueron publicados tres décadas después de que el jurisconsulto italiano Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), fundador de dicho género, publicase su colección de emblemas.<sup>4</sup> Como indica el título, el libro contiene, además de los emblemas (167 en total en esta edición), unas ilustraciones de monedas antiguas recogidas al final del volumen.

La obra fue terminada en Gante en colaboración con Lucas d'Heere, el principal diseñador de las ilustraciones siendo publicada en Amberes en el año 1564, en la imprenta de Cristóbal Plantin.<sup>5</sup> Posteriormente, fue editada en otras cinco ocasiones (1566, 1569, 1576, 1584 y 1599)<sup>6</sup>, y

<sup>4</sup> Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburgo: Steyner, 1531).

<sup>5</sup> Sobre el editor y su relación con Juan Sambuco remitimos al capítulo que Visser, *Joannes Sambucus* le dedica en el capítulo 3, pp. 49-83.

<sup>6</sup> La segunda edición, publicada en 1566, es la más completa de todas las realizadas, pues añade 56 nuevos emblemas (en total tiene 223) y 22 ilustraciones de monedas antiguas. La tercera edición (1569) elimina uno de los emblemas de la segunda, por lo que presenta 222 emblemas, y las tres ediciones siguientes mantienen el contenido de la tercera. Para más detalles, véase Visser, *Joannes Sambucus*, pp. xxvii-xxx.

también se realizaron una edición en holandés y otra en francés, publicadas en 1566 y 1567 respectivamente.

Una de las aspiraciones que tiene Sambuco a la hora de publicar su libro de emblemas era granjearse el favor de sus colegas, a los cuales dedica personalmente más de un tercio de los emblemas, pero sobre todo el de Maximiliano II, a quien dedica la colección en su conjunto.<sup>7</sup> Como hemos señalado, antes de la publicación de los *Emblemata*, Sambuco ya había sido admitido en la casa imperial, pero quería adquirir una posición más elevada. Un año después de la publicación, lograría el puesto de historiógrafo imperial, si bien no consiguió su aspiración de convertirse en bibliotecario imperial.

### 3. El emblema 83: *Partes hominis*<sup>8</sup>

A continuación, describiremos cada una de las partes del emblema atendiendo a su estructura tripartita: mote, *pictura* y epigrama, y realizaremos un comentario global del mismo.

#### 3.1. Descripción de las partes

##### 3.1.1. Mote

El mote del emblema es: *Partes hominis*, es decir, ‘las partes del hombre’. No se trata de una sentencia moral o proverbio como en otros casos, sino de una expresión que describe de una manera breve y general el tema del emblema ofreciéndonos la clave para interpretar su sentido. Por ello, es preciso recurrir a las otras dos partes del emblema (*pictura* y epigrama) para ver cómo y desde qué punto de vista son tratadas las partes del hombre.

##### 3.1.2. *Pictura*<sup>9</sup>

En la *pictura* tenemos a un hombre desnudo en el centro de un paisaje campestre donde se pueden apreciar, en diferentes planos de profundidad, árboles, arbustos y un lago con un cisne nadando. En la figura humana se aprecian varios signos planetarios, que comentaremos más adelante.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sambuco, *Emblemata*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Figura 3.

<sup>9</sup> En la Figura 4 reproducimos una ampliación de la misma.

Todo ello está rodeado por un anillo en el que están dispuestos los doce símbolos del Zodíaco en el orden siguiente (de izquierda a derecha y comenzando por arriba): Cáncer, Piscis, Aries, Taurus, Géminis, Acuario, Capricornio, Sagitario, Escorpio, Libra, Virgo y Leo.

Este motivo central se inserta, a su vez, en un fondo rectangular decorado con unas formas almohadilladas y rodeado por un marco con motivos ornamentales de tipo vegetal, animal y antropomórfico.

### 3.1.3. Epigrama

El epigrama, compuesto en latín, está formado por seis dísticos elegíacos correctamente contruidos según los principios de la métrica cuantitativa latina. A continuación, recogemos la transcripción del texto:

Praecipuas nostri partes tribuere vetusti	
Diis, quorum ambigua vertitur ordo via.	
Linguam Mercurio, cuius facundia pacem	
nunciat et Divum bella minatur ope.	
Splenem Saturno, tetra nam <sup>10</sup> bile senescit,	5
tristibus et vitam sustinet ille modis.	
Iupiter ast hepar proprium deposcit, amoris	
namque putabatur fons et origo novi.	
Sanguinis est cupidus Mavors in proelia ducens,	
cor, cerebrum Phoebi, quippe calore vigent.	10
Sed stomachus Lunae, quia debilis humidiorque,	
renes et generis membra cupido foveat.	

(Traducción castellana)

Nuestros antepasados relacionaron las principales partes del cuerpo con los dioses, cuya posición sigue un camino ambiguo.<sup>11</sup> La lengua fue atribuida a Mercurio, cuya elocuencia anuncia la paz y amenaza con guerras por disposición de los dioses; el bazo, a Saturno, en efecto, éste envejece con la bilis negra y soporta su existencia de una manera triste; Júpiter, por su parte, reclama como suyo el hígado, en efecto, era considerado la fuente y origen del amor nuevo. Marte desea la sangre cuando conduce a las batallas; el corazón y el cerebro son de Febo, pues, precisamente, adquieren vigor con

<sup>10</sup> En nuestra transcripción hemos introducido directamente la corrección que aparece en la fe de erratas de Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 231, pues en el texto aparece el adverbio de negación *non* en lugar de *nam* (cf. Figura 3).

<sup>11</sup> Según las teorías astrológicas ptolemaicas vigentes en la época, los planetas realizan un doble movimiento. Por una parte, describen un círculo (llamado epiciclo) alrededor de un centro y, por otra parte, este punto central describe, a su vez, otro círculo mayor, denominado deferente, alrededor de la tierra. Con ello, se pretende explicar el movimiento retrógrado observado en los planetas. Pensamos que la expresión *via ambigua* se refiere a este concepto.

el calor. Pero el estómago es de la Luna, porque es débil y más húmedo, Cupido protege los riñones y los órganos sexuales.

### 3.2. Comentario del emblema

El texto del epigrama nos informa de que los autores antiguos relacionaron las principales partes del cuerpo humano con los dioses y, a continuación, especifica cada una de estas relaciones.

En primer lugar, hemos de tener en cuenta que cuando habla de dioses se está refiriendo a los planetas que llevan su nombre, que, por aquella época, eran siete, es decir, los cinco que se podían observar a simple vista (Saturno, Júpiter, Marte, Mercurio y Venus), y, además, el Sol y la Luna, que también eran considerados planetas. Apolo o Febo, como es sabido, es el Sol y Cupido está en lugar de Venus.<sup>12</sup>

Según las ideas astrológicas vigentes en la época<sup>13</sup>, el Universo era concebido como una esfera hueca dotada de movimiento, en cuyo centro estaba la tierra, también esférica, pero inmóvil. En la superficie interna de esta esfera estaban las denominadas estrellas fijas, y entre ésta y la tierra giraban las siete estrellas errantes o planetas en otras tantas esferas concéntricas. El orden de éstos según su distancia a la tierra es Saturno, Júpiter, Marte, Sol, Venus, Mercurio y Luna.<sup>14</sup>

Esta idea según la cual los planetas se relacionan con diversas partes del cuerpo humano sobre los cuales ejercen su influencia, recibe el nombre de ‘melotesia planetaria’ y es un concepto que se engloba dentro de la llamada ‘medicina astrológica’ o *iatromathematica*, teoría cuyos fundamentos, aunque tienen sus precedentes en Mesopotamia y en Egipto, fueron sistematizados como doctrina médica en el mundo griego.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Esta sustitución hay que considerarla una licencia poética provocada, posiblemente, por necesidades métricas, ya que, como es sabido, son dos divinidades diferentes, aunque relacionadas con el amor.

<sup>13</sup> Para la historia y concepciones de la astrología antigua, medieval y renacentista hemos empleado el libro de Jim Tester, *Historia de la astrología occidental* (Méjico D. F.: siglo veintiuno, 1990).

<sup>14</sup> En el emblema de Sambuco titulado *Dulcia cum amaris*, el cual reproducimos en la Figura 5, se puede ver un dibujo del Universo que hemos descrito. Cf. Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 174. Dicho emblema versa sobre el tema de que lo dulce está junto a lo amargo, esto es, que en todo lo malo siempre hay algo bueno. Uno de los ejemplos de ello es el Universo, donde existen planetas benéficos y maléficos.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (París: Leroux, 1899; repr. Bruselas: Culture et civilisation, 1963), pp. 517-542, y Luis Gil Fernández, *Therapeia: La medicina popular en el mundo clásico* (Madrid: Triacastela, 2004), pp. 403-457, donde se expone el origen y concepto de la ‘medicina astrológica’.



La melotesia planetaria<sup>16</sup> se fundamenta, principalmente, en dos conceptos. Uno de ellos es la idea de que existe una correlación entre el macrocosmos o Universo y el microcosmos o pequeño universo que es el hombre, de tal manera que éste reproduce en miniatura el Universo.

La otra idea es la simpatía universal o cósmica, según la cual los astros ejercen su influencia en el mundo. Este influjo es evidente en el caso del sol y su influencia en la sucesión de las estaciones, o en el de la luna, que influye, por ejemplo, en las mareas, pero se intenta ver también en el resto de los astros.

Para establecer las propiedades de los planetas y determinar sus influjos sobre unas partes concretas del cuerpo humano se recurre a diversos criterios como la mitología, las características físicas de los astros y las teorías filosófico-científicas vigentes en la época<sup>17</sup>, entre las cuales es clave la teoría de los cuatro elementos (tierra, agua, aire y fuego) y sus cualidades (lo frío, lo cálido, lo húmedo y lo seco), que se hallan en todos los seres de la naturaleza, y, por lo tanto, también en los planetas y en el hombre.<sup>18</sup> Dichas cualidades, por tanto, sirven para establecer relaciones de simpatía.

En algunos casos, los distintos criterios empleados interactúan unos con otros y no siempre llegan a encajar bien entre sí dándose, incluso, diferencias entre los autores a la hora de establecer las relaciones entre los planetas y las partes del cuerpo. Veamos cómo aparecen en nuestro texto.

**Mercurio.** Como señalamos, el mito sirve de base para establecer algunas asociaciones, ya que, los planetas, al ser designados con el nombre de los dioses, acabaron adoptando, en muchos casos, algunos rasgos de

<sup>16</sup> El término 'melotesia' procede del griego μέλος ('miembro') y θέσις ('disposición'). Sobre el concepto de melotesia, sus orígenes e historia remitimos, además de a las obras citadas en la nota anterior, a los trabajos de Aurelio Pérez Jiménez: 'La tiranía de los astros sobre el cuerpo humano: melotesia zodiacal', en *Pervivencia y actualidad de la cultura clásica*, edd. Jesús María García González – Andrés Pociña Pérez (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996), pp. 263-286, y 'Melotesia zodiacal y planetaria: la pervivencia de las creencias astrológicas antiguas sobre el cuerpo humano', en *Unidad y Pluralidad del Cuerpo Humano: La Anatomía en las Culturas Mediterráneas*, edd. Aurelio Pérez Jiménez – G. Cruz Andreotti (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1998), pp. 249-292.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Gil Fernández, *Therapeia*, pp. 438-441 y Pérez Jiménez, 'Melotesia', pp. 271-278.

<sup>18</sup> El hombre está compuesto por cuatro humores (la flema o pituita, la sangre, la melancolía o bilis negra y la cólera o bilis amarilla), cada uno de los cuales es soporte y agente de un par de cualidades. La sangre es húmeda y caliente; la melancolía, seca y fría; la bilis, húmeda y fría, y la cólera es seca y cálida. Cf. Pedro Laín Entralgo, *Historia de la medicina* (Barcelona: Salvat, 1981), pp. 79-80.

éstos. Mercurio es el dios de la elocuencia y, por ello, el planeta ejerce su influencia sobre la lengua.

**Saturno.** Su lejanía del sol (cálido) y de la tierra (húmeda) hizo que se le considerase un planeta de naturaleza fría y seca, que es como aparece en nuestro texto, donde se le relaciona con el bazo, que es un órgano frío y seco, y con la melancolía o bilis negra ('atra bilis')<sup>19</sup>, humor caracterizado también por la frialdad y la sequedad, y que, desde el punto de vista psicológico, provoca que la persona melancólica sea triste y taciturna, de ahí la expresión: 'soporta su existencia de una manera triste' ('tristibus et vitam sustinet ille modis').

Por otra parte, si el planeta era designado con el nombre de Saturno, era porque, debido a su movimiento lento y su brillo pálido, había sido asociado con la vejez tomando el nombre del dios caracterizado con este rasgo. Ahora bien, la vejez, como edad del hombre, está caracterizada por la frialdad y la humedad, por lo que en otros textos aparece dotado de una naturaleza fría y húmeda, es decir, flemática, pues el humor flemático es frío y húmedo.<sup>20</sup>

**Júpiter.** El padre de los dioses se relaciona con el hígado, órgano considerado la fuente y origen del amor nuevo. En efecto, se pensaba que el hígado era el asiento de la pasión y de la concupiscencia, lo cual concuerda con el carácter de un dios como Júpiter, famoso por sus amoríos. Además, ambos, el planeta y el órgano, tienen una naturaleza cálida y húmeda.

**Marte.** Como dios de la guerra, Marte, se relaciona con la sangre. En el caso de Marte al carácter belicoso del dios se une el color rojizo del planeta para establecer su relación con la sangre. Es un planeta cálido y seco, es decir, colérico, buena cualidad para la guerra, aunque, la sangre, como humor, es cálida y húmeda.

**Apolo (Sol).** El Sol, que ocupa una posición central en el Universo, es un planeta cálido y es relacionado con órganos considerados cálidos como el corazón y el cerebro, sobre los cuales ejerce su influencia. Es el planeta que da luz y gobierna el Universo, por lo que se le relaciona con unos órganos que tienen una función similar en el cuerpo humano.

**Luna.** La Luna posee una naturaleza húmeda, por lo que se relaciona con el estómago, un órgano también húmedo.

<sup>19</sup> A propósito de la relación existente entre Saturno y la melancolía, remitimos al clásico estudio: Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky y Fritz Saxl, *Saturno y la melancolía: estudios de historia de la filosofía de la naturaleza, la religión y el arte* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Gil Fernández, *Therapeia*, p. 440.

**Cupido (Venus).** Al ser la diosa del amor ejerce su influencia sobre los órganos sexuales y los riñones, relacionados también con la actividad sexual.

Como consecuencia de estas ideas, ya desde época hipocrática se considera que el médico ha de tener conocimientos de astrología para conocer todas estas relaciones y efectos ya que ello le permitirá realizar el pronóstico de la enfermedad y aplicar la terapia adecuada.<sup>21</sup> La terapéutica se basa en el denominado ‘principio alopático’ expresado mediante la frase: ‘contraria contrariis curantur’, esto es, la enfermedad se cura tratándola con remedios contrarios a su naturaleza morbosa, de tal manera que si se trataba de una enfermedad cálida, había que aplicar remedios fríos, y aquí había que tener también en cuenta la influencia que pudieran ejercer los astros según sus características propias.

Como hemos señalado, esta doctrina hunde sus orígenes en la Antigüedad, pero también se prolongará a lo largo del Medievo<sup>22</sup>, y en el Occidente latino alcanzará, gracias a los árabes, una gran difusión a partir del siglo XIII en el ámbito de las universidades, una vez superados los problemas teológicos que sobre el libre albedrío podía implicar la influencia de los astros.<sup>23</sup> Uno de sus mayores defensores es el italiano Pedro de Abano<sup>24</sup> (1250-1318), médico que enseñó en Padua, precisamente el lugar en el que Sambuco realizó sus estudios de medicina. El Renacimiento también recogerá esta doctrina y hasta el s. XVII, por lo menos, la medi-

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Jacques Jouanna, *Ippocrate* (Turín: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1992), pp. 218-220. El tratado hipocrático donde aparece esta idea es *Sobre los aires, aguas y lugares*, cap. 2, donde, refiriéndose a los cambios de las estaciones y a la salida y ocaso de los astros, dice así: ‘Si alguien pensara que esos datos son propios de la meteorología, en caso de cambiar de criterio, sabrá que la astronomía contribuye a la medicina, no en poquísima, sino en grandísima medida. En efecto, los órganos internos les cambian a los hombres juntamente con las estaciones’. Citamos según la siguiente traducción: *Tratados hipocráticos*, 8 vols (Madrid: Gredos, 1988-2003), II. *Sobre los aires, aguas y lugares*, introd. trad. y notas de Juan Antonio López Férrez – Elsa García Novo (Madrid: Gredos, 1997), 39-88.

<sup>22</sup> Paul Diepgen, *Historia de la medicina* (Barcelona: Labor, 1932), pp. 135-141 y Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny, ‘L’homme comme symbole. Le microcosme’, en *Simboli e simbologia nell’Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 23, 2 vols (Spoleto: Preso La Sede del Centro, 1976), I, 123-195.

<sup>23</sup> Los astros han sido creados por Dios y condicionan al hombre, pero el libre albedrío queda a salvo a través del alma, que viene directamente de Dios y, por lo tanto, escapa a la influencia de los astros. Este pensamiento es expresado mediante la frase: ‘los astros condicionan pero no obligan’. Cf. Pérez Jiménez, ‘Melotesia’, pp. 259-260.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Roger French, ‘Astrology in Medical Practice’, en *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, edd. Luis García Ballester et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 30-59 (pp. 55-58).

cina y la astrología mantuvieron una relación más o menos estrecha según los momentos. Por ello, Juan Sambuco, como médico, sin duda tuvo ocasión de conocer de cerca esta teoría.

Desde el punto de vista iconográfico, la *pictura* refleja la idea expresada en el epigrama, pues en algunas de las partes del cuerpo se pueden apreciar los símbolos de los planetas con los que se asocian.<sup>25</sup> En la boca del hombre está dibujado el símbolo de Mercurio. En la cabeza y en el pecho, a la altura del corazón, se aprecian sendos soles, pues dicho astro rige estas partes del cuerpo. En el muslo derecho, se puede distinguir un chorro de sangre que termina con el símbolo de Marte. El símbolo de Venus aparece de manera discontinua a ambos lados de la cadera, como diosa que rige los riñones. En la zona de los genitales puede verse el signo de la luna, que rige el estómago.

Sin embargo, no se aprecian los símbolos de Júpiter y Saturno, aunque pensamos que pueden estar representados por las manos. Observamos que la izquierda está oculta tras el cuerpo, mientras que la derecha está visible mostrando la palma.

Esta disposición puede hacer referencia a la situación del órgano que rigen y, al mismo tiempo, reflejar el carácter opuesto de estos planetas.

Saturno, que rige el bazo, órgano situado a la izquierda, está simbolizado por la mano izquierda, mientras que Júpiter, que rige un órgano situado a la derecha como es el hígado, está representado por la mano derecha.

Saturno es frío y seco, Júpiter es cálido y húmedo; Saturno es triste, Júpiter es jovial. Esta oposición puede estar expresada por el hecho de que la mano izquierda se oculta y la derecha está a la vista mostrando la palma.

Un motivo que está claramente dibujado en el emblema son los símbolos del Zodíaco. Aunque no aparezca ninguna referencia en el epigrama, éstos, al igual que los planetas, también ejercen su influencia sobre el cuerpo humano y tienen asignadas varias partes del cuerpo. Es lo que se denomina 'melotesia zodiacal'<sup>26</sup>, que no excluye a la 'melotesia planetaria' ya que, en virtud de la simpatía universal, también se establece

<sup>25</sup> En la mayoría de los casos aparecen los símbolos tal como están representados en el emblema anteriormente citado, *Dulcia cum amaris*, donde se puede observar la esfera celeste con los símbolos de los planetas. Cf. Figura 5.

<sup>26</sup> Además, de los dos tipos de melotesia señalados aquí, existe otro tipo más que se denomina 'decánica', en la que se pone en relación las partes de cuerpo con los decanos o treinta y seis sectores de diez grados en que se divide el círculo zodiacal.

un relación entre los planetas y los signos del Zodíaco o constelaciones zodiacales, de la siguiente manera:

1. Saturno: Capricornio y Acuario
2. Júpiter: Sagitario y Piscis
3. Marte: Escorpio y Aries
4. Sol: Leo
5. Venus: Libra y Taurus
6. Mercurio: Virgo y Géminis
7. Luna: Cáncer

El antecedente iconográfico de la *pictura* hay que buscarlo en el denominado *homo astrologicus* que podemos ver dibujado en numerosos manuscritos medievales de medicina astrológica, sobre todo a partir del s. XIII y que consiste en una figura humana donde se indican las distintas partes del cuerpo que reciben una influencia, ya sea de los planetas (melotesis planetaria) o de los signos del Zodíaco (melotesia zodiacal).<sup>27</sup>

#### 4. Conclusiones

En la introducción de sus *Emblemata*, Sambuco clasifica sus emblemas en tres grupos atendiendo a su temática<sup>28</sup>: emblemas de contenido moral, emblemas relacionados con cuestiones de la naturaleza y emblemas de tema histórico-legendario. El emblema *Partes hominis* se engloba dentro del segundo grupo, pues versa sobre medicina.

Como hemos visto, se centra en la denominada melotesia planetaria y zodiacal, una doctrina que formaba parte de la medicina astrológica, aspecto que la ciencia moderna excluye, pero que en época del autor estaba vigente y se fundamentaba en una larga tradición que partía del mundo griego. Según dicha doctrina los planetas y las constelaciones se relacionan con diversas partes del cuerpo humano sobre las que ejercen su influencia.

Mientras que el texto del epigrama únicamente habla de la melotesia planetaria, la *pictura* añade, además, la melotesia zodiacal al representar en un círculo los símbolos del zodiaco. Desde el punto de vista icono-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Figura 6, donde reproducimos un hombre zodiacal.

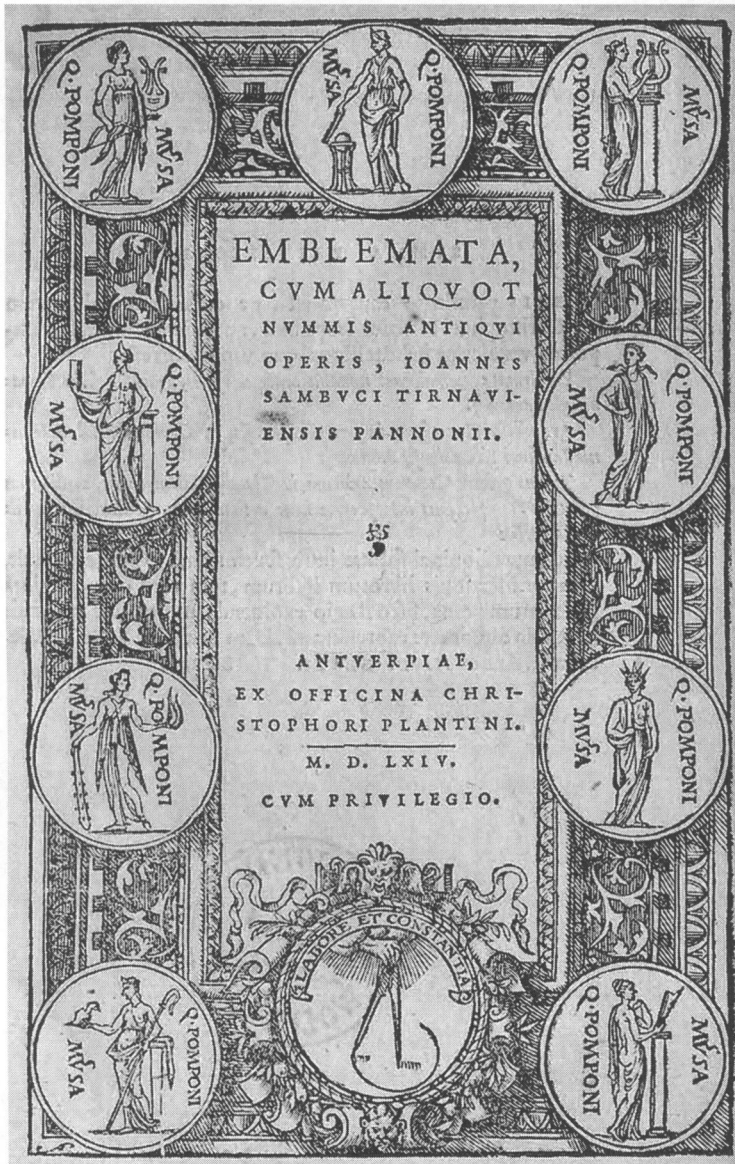
<sup>28</sup> Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 3: 'Ac etsi haec ut problemata universa constitui possunt, trium tamen praecipue sunt generum, quomodo et ipsorum expositio et intelligentia. Nam et de moribus et natura et historica fabulosaque διὰ χαρακτηρισμῶν καὶ συνθημάτων commode finguntur'.

gráfico, esta *pictura* tiene como antecedente los dibujos de ‘hombres astrológicos’ que aparecen en numerosos manuscritos medievales de medicina.

Vemos, pues, cómo Juan Sambuco extrae también temas de una disciplina que estudió y ejercitó. Si bien, al no tratarse de una obra de medicina, es difícil determinar si era partidario de la medicina astrológica o, simplemente, la emplea como un motivo literario e iconográfico para elaborar su emblema.

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## 5. Láminas

**Figura 1**

Portada de la primera edición de los *Emblemata*  
 Juan Sambuco, *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antiqui operis*  
 (Amberes: Chr. Plantin, 1564), p. 1.

Reproducido con el amable permiso de la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel  
 (<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm?image=00005>)

**Figura 2**

Retrato de Juan Sambuco

Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 8.

Reproducido con el amable permiso de la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel  
(<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm?image=00012>)



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I. SAMBVCI  
Partes hominis.

PRÆCIPVAS nostri partes tribuere vetusti  
 Diis, quorum ambigua vertitur ordo via.  
 Linguam Mercurio, cuius facundia pacem  
 Nunciat, & Diuūm bella minatur ope.  
 Splenem Saturno, tetra non bile senescit,  
 Tristibus & vitam sustinet ille modis.  
 Iupiter ast hepar proprium deposcit, amoris  
 Namque putabatur fons, & origo noui.  
 Sanguinis est cupidus Maiors in prælia ducens,  
 Cor, cerebrum Phœbi, quippe calore vigent.  
 Sed stomachus Lunæ, quia debilis, humidiorque  
 Renes & generis membra cupido fouet.

Ambi-

**Figura 3**

Emblema titulado *Partes hominis*  
 Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 118.

Reproducido con el amable permiso de la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel  
 (<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm?image=00122>)



**Figura 4**

Detalle del emblema *Partes hominis*

Sambuco, p. 118.

Reproducido con el amable permiso de la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel  
(<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm?image=00122>)

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I. SAMBVCI



Dulcia cum amaris.



EST vetus, & cunctis iactata paræmia vulgò,  
 In damnis aliquid semper inesse boni.  
 Id quoque testatur series æterna globorum,  
 Binos namque malos qui moderetur adest.  
 Hanc quoque temperiem suauissima Musica seruat,  
 Lenior vt voces condiat vna graues.  
 Ordo Planetarum quibus est, & cognita virtus,  
 Hæc norunt, præfens atque figura monet.

Planetæ

**Figura 5**

Emblema titulado *Dulcia cum amaris*  
 Sambuco, *Emblemata*, p. 174.

Reproducido con el amable permiso de la Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel  
 (<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/li-7744-1/start.htm?image=00178>)

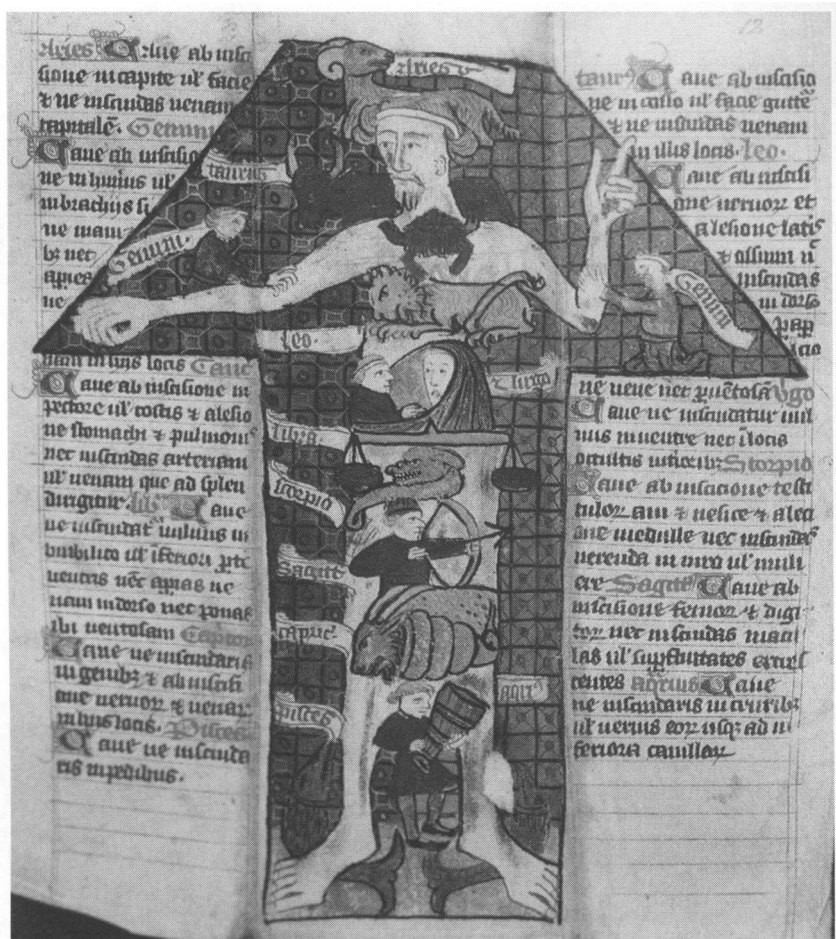


Figura 6

Hombre zodiacal, c. 1399

Londres, British Library, ms. Sloane 2250, fol. 12r.

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César CHAPARRO GÓMEZ

RETÓRICA, MEMORIA Y DIAGRAMA EN  
LA *RHETORICA CHRISTIANA*  
DE DIEGO VALADÉS\*

1. Introducción

Como ya he tenido ocasión de señalar en otras ocasiones<sup>1</sup>, Diego Valadés, después de haber vivido desde su niñez en Nueva España, como un habitante más de aquellas tierras recién descubiertas y conquistadas y de haberse formado en las escuelas de los primeros franciscanos (sobre todos, Pedro de Gante); de haber ejercido como miembro de la Orden de

\* Este artículo se realiza en el ámbito de dos Proyectos de Investigación en los que participamos: 1) *Retórica, enseñanza y predicación en el Nuevo Mundo durante los siglos XVI y XVII: Palabra, texto e imagen*, subvencionado con el número 2PR03A025 por la Junta de Extremadura; 2) *Retórica y Memoria Artificial: De la Antigüedad al Renacimiento*, concedido por el MEC con el número BFF2003 – 05234.

<sup>1</sup> Sobre Diego Valadés y su obra *Rhetorica christiana* ya hemos publicado algunos artículos; entre ellos podemos destacar: ‘Diego Valadés: ¿el primer rétor de Nueva España?’, en *Humanismo y pervivencia del Mundo clásico: Homenaje al Prof. Antonio Fontán*, ed. José María Maestre Maestre e.a. (Alcañiz-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos – Laberinto, 2002), pp. 631-646; ‘El atrio del tabernáculo de Dios, un ejemplo de teatro de la memoria en la *Rhetorica christiana* de Diego Valadés’, en Antonio Bernat y John T. Cull (eds.), *Los días del Alción. Emblemas, literatura y arte en el siglo de Oro* (Barcelona: Universitat de les Illes Balears y College of the Holy Cross, 2002), pp. 121-140; ‘Retórica, historia y política en Diego Valadés’, *Norba*, 16 (2003), 403-419; ‘Emblema, epigrama y apotegma en la *Rhetorica christiana* de Diego Valadés’, en Sagrario Lopez Poza e.a. (eds.), *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblemática* (Ferrol: Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, 2004), pp. 245-257; ‘Retórica y libros de caballerías. La presencia de *exempla* en la *Rhetorica Christiana* de Diego Valadés’, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Est. Lat.*, 24 (2004), 257-292; ‘Emblemática y memoria, política e historia en la *Rhetorica christiana* de Diego Valadés’, *Rhetorica*, 23 (2005), 173-202; ‘El Humanismo en Nueva España: las técnicas de persuasión según Diego Valadés’, *Liberdade (Anais Científicos da Universidade Independente)*, 9 (2005), 43-70; ‘Crónica y *genus demonstrativum*: una singularidad más de la *Rhetorica Christiana* de Diego Valadés’, en Jenaro Costas y otros (eds.), *Ad amicum amicissime scripta. Homenaje a la Profesora M<sup>a</sup> José López de Ayala y Genovés*, 2 vols (Madrid: UNED, 2005), II, 19-28; ‘Enseñanza y predicación entre pueblos lejanos y extraños: Palabra, imagen y arte de la memoria’, *Imago Americae*, 1 (2006), 73-92.

San Francisco, entre peligros y calamidades, el testimonio del apostolado y, por lo tanto, haber conocido las formas de expresión de aquellos pueblos indígenas y la importancia que la imagen visual y la pintura tenía entre ellos (participando activamente en los métodos, verdaderamente audiovisuales, dispuestos por los Hermanos franciscanos en la enseñanza de la doctrina cristiana), entre los años 1571 y 1572 se trasladó a la vieja Europa; y después de unas breves estancias en Francia (para entrevistarse con el General de la Orden, Cristóbal de Cheffontaines) y en España (para editar en Sevilla el *Itinerarium catholicum* de Fr. Juan Focher), vivió en Italia hasta su muerte. Primeramente ejerció en Roma el cargo de Procurador general *in curia* de la familia ultramontana de la Orden franciscana, lo que le facilitaría sin duda el acceso directo al Papa Gregorio XIII; posteriormente, por una serie de encontronazos con la monarquía española, pasó algunos años ‘en arresto domiciliario’ en Perugia (donde terminó de imprimirse su *Retórica* en el año 1579), bajo la protección del Papado, para volver tiempo después de nuevo a Roma y ser nombrado por el mismo Papa miembro de la Comisión pontificia para rebatir las Centurias Magdeburgenses de los protestantes.

Diego Valadés vivió, pues, en su larga estancia italiana los años posteriores al Concilio de Trento y lo que esta magna reunión supuso para el desarrollo de la oratoria cristiana, especialmente en lo que atañe a la legitimidad y conveniencia del uso de las imágenes para la propagación de la fe. La sesión XXV del Concilio tridentino, celebrada en diciembre de 1564, al establecer el vínculo entre el sentido de la vista y el conocimiento a través de la emoción, consagró oficialmente el arte de la memoria como instrumento de proselitismo católico. El arte de la memoria que subyace en la política tridentina es, entonces, uno de los factores esenciales que está detrás de buena parte del despliegue artístico del barroco, con sus ceremonias monumentales, sus representaciones teatrales, sus artes plásticas y su literatura ilustrada. A la influencia tridentina habría que unir los ecos de la publicación de los *Ejercicios espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola, en los que la imagen es la unidad constitutiva de la meditación (lo que S. Ignacio llama ‘composición viendo el lugar’) y el progresivo incremento de la Emblemática, esta última con la finalidad de — en una concepción contrarreformista — hacer asequibles a todos las verdades éticas y religiosas.

Así, a las fuentes que convergen en la teoría de la expresión en el siglo XVI (neoplatonismo, hermetismo, el *ut pictura poesis* horaciano, el arte de la memoria, la escolástica y la política tridentina) Valadés añadió el

modo específico de comunicación ideográfico del pueblo precolombino, en una amalgama entre normas clásicas de tradiciones europeas dispersas y ejemplos recientes y novedosos que hacen de su obra un manual de difícil encuadre retórico. Pues bien, como ya he puesto de manifiesto en anteriores contribuciones sobre la obra valadesiana, es la importancia que nuestro rétor concede a la memoria (y más en concreto, a la artificial) uno de los rasgos constitutivos de su entramado retórico. Entre las técnicas utilizadas por él en su manejo del mecanismo *per locos et imagines* hemos estudiado las referidas a los grabados o *stemmata* y las que atañen a la fabricación de un *locus* mnemotécnico (el denominado ‘atrio de la memoria’). En estas líneas vamos a abordar el estudio de la presencia en la *Rhetorica christiana* de Valadés de otro mecanismo mnemotécnico, a medio camino entre la memoria natural y la artificial: los diagramas o tablas; analizaremos su sentido y finalidad, así como los posibles antecedentes de su utilización por parte de fray Diego Valadés. Pero demos, aunque sea en un quizás prematuro adelanto, el diagrama y texto valadesianos, objeto principal de nuestro análisis.

## 2. Memoria y diagrama en la obra de Diego Valadés

La segunda parte de la *Rhetorica christiana* (Perugia, 1579)<sup>2</sup> del franciscano Diego Valadés está dedicada a la definición del *Ars Rhetorica* y su división en las partes tradicionales, haciendo especial hincapié en la *inventio* y en la *memoria*, sobre todo en esta última. Pues bien, el primer capítulo de esta segunda parte está dedicado en exclusiva a la presentación de un diagrama o tabla [Fig. 1], en el que — como dice el título — se contiene un cuadro compendioso de la estructura de toda la obra (‘Compendiosam tabulam structuræ totius operis continens’). A dicha tabla le preceden unas líneas, en las que Valadés explica la idoneidad de dicha inserción para todo aquel que se dedique a la oratoria y a la predicción, así como su conexión metodológica con la memoria, en cuyo ámbito coloca nuestro rétor la presencia de tales prácticas:

Nam cum inter alia quæ studentibus necessaria sunt, unum sit et longe præcipuum *memoria* (quæ quidem merito scientiæ thesaurus uocatur) hæc

<sup>2</sup> Diego Valadés, *Retórica cristiana*, repr. facs. de *Rhetorica Christiana*, 1579, con introducción y traducción de Esteban Palomera y otros (México: UNAM y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989).

autem non solum conseruetur atque augeatur labore, lectione, meditationeque assidua, sed etiam perficiatur collocatione, dispositioneque eorum, quae *in memoria* habere cupimus. Ideo oratorem concionatoremque futurum (...) summopere conari studereque decet (...) summam et ueluti *diaeresim*, hoc est, *diuisionem totius artis Rhetoricae*, quam mox hic tradituri descripturi-que sumus, diligenter perdiscere, atque per *synopsin ob oculos ponere*, quod toti operi velut basin et fundamentum substernat.

La elaboración de la tabla-resumen o diagrama responde, pues, en Diego Valadés al propósito de presentar de forma visualizada, en un intento a medio camino entre la memoria natural y la artificial, una panorámica — total y esencial a la vez — de todo el arte de la memoria, de manera que el que acceda a dicho diagrama o cuadro pueda comprender breve y claramente en qué consiste la realidad encerrada en él y de qué partes consta:

idem meo quidem arbitratu praestabit *circumcisa haec ac brevis tabella* ad uniuersam totius artis supellectilem atque apparatus. Duo autem inprimis hic inspicienda sunt: in quibus scilicet rebus et ex quibus tanquam partibus constet. Quae omnia quo ad fieri poterit quam breuissime et euidentissime exponam. Est autem huiusmodi *Diagramma* quod sequitur.

Antes de entrar en el análisis y alcance del texto, hay que decir que la inserción en la *Retórica* valadesiana tanto de la tabla (diagrama) como del texto que la precede ha de ser puesta en relación con lo hecho por Agustín Valerio en su *Rhetorica ecclesiastica*. En la edición que de la misma se hace en París en 1575<sup>3</sup>, el tratado de Valerio se presenta provisto de una *Rhetoricae ecclesiasticae synopsis* [Fig. 2]. En el texto que precede a esta sinopsis, como dedicatoria al Cardenal Carlos Borromeo, Valerio afirma que hace esta versión ‘visualizada’ de su manual, de manera que sea utilizada por los que no tienen tiempo para leer todo el libro; pone en conexión, pues, esta práctica con la memoria y la asemeja metodológicamente, en un intento de justificación, a la propia actividad de Dios, mediante la cual se puede conocer, de un golpe de vista, todo el entramado de la realidad (relaciones y distinciones) a la par que cada parcela o ámbito de misma.<sup>4</sup> Esta similitud entre Valerio y Valadés viene a corro-

<sup>3</sup> Augustinus Valerius, *Libri tres de rhetorica ecclesiastica. Synopsis eiusdem rhetoricae ab ipso autore contexta* (París: Apud Thomam Brumennium, 1575).

<sup>4</sup> No podemos detenernos, dada la extensión de esta contribución, en el comentario del texto de Agustín Valerio; en su primera parte, es como sigue (en negrita van algunas de las concomitancias temáticas y formales con el de Valadés): ‘Cum autem Mediolanum uenissem (...), in quadam **tabella** etiam totam hanc, quam delineauí et, ut potui, expressi artem Rhetoricam Ecclesiasticam inscriptam, **ante oculos** occupatorum hominum, qui totum librum commode legere non possunt, **esse ponendam** iudicasti, ut **breuissimo tem-**



borar lo afirmado por nosotros en otros trabajos, en lo que atañe a la clara influencia (en nuestra opinión, esencial) que ejerce Valerio en la elaboración de la *Retórica cristiana* del fraile franciscano<sup>5</sup> y que en este caso se ve además reflejada en la copia, casi literal, por parte de Valadés del párrafo con el que termina Valerio el recitado justificativo de su *Synopsis*.<sup>6</sup>

La mención de Agustín Valerio y de su repercusión en la obra valadesiana nos lleva de inmediato a los ambientes eclesiásticos que en su estancia italiana tuvo que frecuentar nuestro fraile franciscano, recién venido de Nueva España, y más en concreto a los círculos literarios que se formaron alrededor de los jerarcas eclesiásticos (empezando por el

**poris spatio**, in magnis etiam occupationibus ea percurri posset. Haec **ratio diuidendi** maxime Platoni placuit, qui in quodam dialogo miris laudibus effert ea ingenia, quae nobilissimo hoc docendi instrumento sciunt uti: facile enim res ipsas distinguunt, omnem confusionem adimunt, uel minimas rerum differentias percipiunt, facilius quidquid mente conceperint, in aliorum animis imprimunt, **memoriae**, quae est custos omnium scientiarum atque artium, hac ratione ita consulunt ut soli sapere, soli alios docere posse uideantur (...). Accipe igitur, Cardinalis amplissime, Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae **Synopsisim** et quando fortasse totum opus Rhetoricae, ob maximas tuas occupationes legere non poteris, in hac, ueluti in quadam **tabella**, delineamenta artis et omnes articulos, quibus constat, acie mentis, qua praestas, inspice’.

<sup>5</sup> Agustín Valerio, obispo de Verona, y su *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* son citados *nominatim* en no pocas ocasiones, con afecto y veneración, por Diego Valadés (II, 18; VI, 18; etc.). En otros muchos pasajes de la *Retórica* valadesiana, aunque no se diga de forma explícita, la influencia del texto de Valerio es clarísima.

<sup>6</sup> Véase la manifiesta similitud (no exenta de alguna significativa diferencia) entre ambos textos:

*Synopsis Rhetoricae ecclesiasticae*  
(Valerio)

Plato duplicem Rethoricam (*sic*) cognouit, Philosophicam, qua homines ad bonum Philosophis cognitum, hoc est ad morales uirtutes excitarentur, et adulatoriam, uilem et abiectam, qua lenociniis quibusdam populi allicerentur et deciperentur. Nos uero non adulatoriam neque Philosophicam, sed Ecclesiasticam Rhetoricam tradidimus, quam nunc ueluti in Tabella ante oculos ponimus. Ea nihil continet, quod Christi sponsa et ueritatis magistra Ecclesia non probet.

Definiatur autem sic: Rhetorica Ecclesiastica est ars inueniendi, tractandi et eloquendi omnia, quae ad salutem animarum pertinent. Haec Ecclesiasticus orator consequetur Docendo, Mouendo, Conciliando.

*Rhetorica christiana* II, 1  
(Valadés)

Et quemadmodum Plato summus philosophus, duplicem Rhetoricam cognouit: philosophicam, qua homines ad bonum Philosophis cognitum, hoc est, ad morales uirtutes excitarentur, et adulatoriam, uilem et abiectam, qua lenociniis quibusdam populi allicerentur et deciperentur, ita nobis Christianis, liceat non adulatoriam neque philosophicam tantum, sed Ecclesiasticam Rhetoricam tradere, quae nihil contineat quod Christi sponsa et ueritatis magistra Ecclesia non probet.

Ideo, Rhetorica Christiana est ars inueniendi, tractandi et disponendi omnia quae ad salutem animarum pertinent; quae Christianus orator consequetur: Docendo, mouendo et conciliando.

propio Papado). Entre estos destaca sin duda la academia *Noctes Vaticanae*, fundada en Roma por el joven Carlos Borromeo y en cuyas actividades, dedicadas en gran parte a las prácticas de la elocuencia y de la memoria, participaron distinguidos miembros de la curia vaticana y muchos futuros obispos y cardenales. A examinar las coordinadas espaciotemporales en las que se desenvolvían estas actividades retóricas y mnemotécnicas (así como sus principales actores y cultivadores) dedicamos las siguientes líneas, tratando de identificar en concreto las técnicas utilizadas por ellos.

### 3. Mnemotecnia y práctica diagramática en la Italia del siglo XVI

No hace falta un repaso exhaustivo por la producción retórica en la Italia del siglo XVI (sobre todo la existente en el ámbito eclesiástico) para darnos cuenta de la importancia que en la elaboración de los tratados de oratoria tuvo la inserción en los mismos de diagramas o tablas, de la más variada índole y finalidad. Conviene, a modo de ejemplario, traer a colación algunos personajes y obras, que sin duda influyeron en Diego Valadés.<sup>7</sup> Desde luego no son todos ni mucho menos, pero sí quienes debieron ejercer en la actividad retórica de nuestro fraile mayor influencia.

Como hemos indicado más arriba, un personaje a quien seguramente conoció Valadés y a cuyo magisterio acudió en algunas ocasiones fue Agustín Valerio (1530-1606), miembro de una ilustre familia veneciana, que participó como filósofo en las actividades de la Academia veneciana y que fue obispo de Verona en el año 1562 y cardenal en 1583. La atención por el método y su conexión con la memoria fue una constante en la experiencia de Valerio, cosa que se observa ya en un texto de su juventud ('Qua ratione uersandum sit in Aristotele'), escrito hacia el año 1555. En esas páginas juveniles Valerio considera de especial relevancia enfocar 'con qué método u orden Aristóteles encontró y enseñó casi todas las artes' ('qua ratione siue ordine Aristoteles omnes fere artes inuenerit et docuerit'), dado que 'el orden es como el alma misma de las cosas' ('ordo

<sup>7</sup> Nos ha sido de mucha utilidad el estudio de Lina Bolzoni, *La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Torino: Einaudi, 1995); en especial el capítulo II: 'Alberi del sapere e macchine retoriche'. Una vez acabada esta contribución, ha salido a la luz la traducción en castellano de esta obra, a cargo de Giovanna Gabriele y M<sup>a</sup> de las Nieves Muñiz (Madrid: Cátedra, 2007).

est quasi anima ipsarum rerum') y es esencial para 'confiar a la memoria' ('ad commendandum memoriae') los frutos de la búsqueda.

En el año 1560, estando Agustín Valerio ya en Roma, participó en las actividades de las *Noctes Vaticanae* (academia, como se ha dicho, fundada por Carlos Borromeo); allí ejercitó conjuntamente la elocuencia y la memoria. En una obrita de 1574 (*Memoriale a Luigi Contarini cavaliere sopra gli studii ad un senatore veneziano conveniente*), se puede leer: 'El método de dividir las artes y las ciencias, que suele llamarse método y propiamente *synopsis*, porque pone por delante la suma de las cosas, ha sido muy utilizado por los filósofos antiguos y alabado grandemente por Platón'. Estos intereses 'antiguos' van a encontrar un papel importante en el relanzamiento de la predicación y en la reflexión teórica sobre la misma, cosa que se hace en el entorno de Carlos Borromeo. Así se pudo observar en la principal obra de Agustín Valerio, su *Rhetorica ecclesiastica*, en cuya edición de 1575 se inserta un inmenso diagrama como *synopsis* de toda la obra. El sabio uso del espacio que el diagrama proporciona tiene, entre otras, la función de una mejor utilización del tiempo ('breuissimo temporis spatio'). Pero las ventajas no terminan ahí. Los diagramas o 'árboles' permiten evitar la confusión, en cuanto que ponen ante los ojos 'incluso las más pequeñas diferencias de las cosas' ('uel minimas rerum differentias') y las imprimen en la memoria, 'que es la custodia de todas las ciencias y las artes' ('quae est custos omnium scientiarum atque artium'), en un modo tan eficaz que solo quien usa este método aparece como el verdadero detentador del saber y de la capacidad de transmitirlo. De ello deriva también un extraordinario placer intelectual ('mirabilis quaedam uoluptas'), ya que — a semejanza de Dios — el espíritu puede conocerlo todo *uno intuitu*.

Agustín Valerio pone, de esa manera, al servicio de las nuevas exigencias persuasivas de la iglesia de la Contrarreforma todo el bagaje de técnicas y de método que la retórica profana había elaborado; en concreto del método de la distinción ('facile enim res ipsas distinguunt') que se refleja en los diagramas y tablas y que es puesto bajo la bandera de Platón (citado como el que mejor lo enseñó y practicó) antes que bajo la enseñanza, ciertamente más comprometedora, de maestros de lógica y retórica a los que se escuchaba en el mundo protestante. El clima existente en la Academia veneciana y en círculos similares refleja un lógico entusiasmo por el 'nuevo' método y la exaltación de la inmediata percepción del saber que eso permitía; la técnica diagramática hace visible y vuelve practicable la posibilidad que el hombre tiene de imitar a Dios y de

percibir, juntos, con un solo golpe de vista, el todo y las partes. Exactamente por su capacidad de fotografiar en profundidad el orden de las cosas (y del pensamiento), el método de la distinción permite romper las barreras entre lo que se enseña y lo que se aprende. Los maestros que usan su tabla o diagrama, dice Valerio en la dedicatoria, ‘imprimen en el alma de otros todo lo que han concebido en su mente’ (*quidquid mente conceperint, in aliorum animis imprimunt*).

Está claro que detrás de la actividad de Agustín Valerio se percibe la influencia de la personalidad del cardenal Carlos Borromeo. En la obra *De sacris nostrorum temporum oratoribus libri quinque* de Federico Borromeo (1564-1631)<sup>8</sup> se dice del cardenal que ‘al preparar un sermón, utilizaba un arte por el que, diseñado un árbol, disponía en sus ramas los argumentos y los lugares; y que lo hacía a causa de la memoria y que de ese método recibía no poca ayuda’. Los propios volúmenes de Federico Borromeo constituyen el testimonio fehaciente de una confianza constante y singular en ese método retórico y mnemónico, que se demuestra operante y eficaz en un territorio de frontera: entre el mundo católico y el mundo protestante y entre la cultura laica y la cultura religiosa. Las sugerencias — clásicas y medievales — que hacían de la memoria una parte de la virtud de la *prudentia* (la virtud que permite controlar las tres fases del tiempo) conviven con la moderna idea de la memoria como método inventivo, como parte del procedimiento que permite construir el texto. Federico Borromeo cifra el verdadero arte de la memoria — o al menos su versión más útil e importante — en la nueva técnica dialéctica, es decir, en el arte que permite reciclar inmediatamente en el texto el patrimonio de la memoria literaria y mediante el cual se enseña la técnica de la combinación y de la diferenciación.

En esta misma línea, aunque de forma algo original, se mueve Giason Denores (1530 ca. -1590), quien publicó en 1574 un *Breve trattato dell’oratore* con una declarada finalidad práctica: va dirigido a los jóvenes de las nobles familias venecianas, que debían practicar, en la política y en la administración de la justicia, el arte de la elocuencia. Para que la obra resulte más eficaz, Denores la acompaña de un ‘discurso (...) en torno a la distinción, definición y división de la retórica en unas tablas’. En dichas tablas, escribe Denores, ‘se podrá fácilmente comprender el artificio maravilloso usado por Aristóteles al escribir y ordenar su filosofía’; igual-

<sup>8</sup> Se trata del primo del cardenal Carlos Borromeo, que igualmente llegó a cardenal en el año 1587 y a obispo de Milán en el 1595.

mente, ese mapa ordenado de los procedimientos aristotélicos garantiza la comprensión de las enseñanzas del filósofo y su memorización. Es inútil, sigue diciendo Denores, la pretensión de llegar al conocimiento de los ‘preceptos’ sin penetrar en el método que los da forma y colocación. En una obra posterior de este mismo autor (*Della rhetorica*, 1584) encontramos la construcción de verdaderas y propias máquinas retóricas; el tratado se cierra con unas ‘tablas y ruedas, en las que se puede ver la ejecución de todo el artificio retórico’. Al utilizar las ‘ruedas’ como máquina mnemónica, Denores estaría evocando el *modelo luliano*, pero la escasa formalización de las mismas parece mejor reenviarnos a antiguos modelos escolásticos.

En los mismos círculos venecianos y un poco antes en el tiempo sobresale la figura de Francesco Robortello (1516-1567), quien inicia el 31 de octubre de 1549 en Venecia un Curso de retórica. Como soporte de dicho curso se conserva en la biblioteca del Museo Correr de Venecia (Fondo Donà delle Rose, 4447/29) un folio grande que contiene una tabla o árbol diagramático en el que está reflejada toda su retórica; el texto latino que acompaña a dicho árbol nos explica el sentido de su elaboración.<sup>9</sup> Con esa tabla diagramática los estudiantes que seguían el curso impartido por Robortello podían tener ante sus ojos, en cualquier momento, el ‘lugar’ en el que se encontraba el tratamiento del tema; podían, asimismo, considerar las específicas articulaciones del argumento esgrimido y ver en ese instante las redes de relaciones y derivaciones que lo unían al resto de la materia. La vista intervenía así para afianzar, controlar y dirigir el oído. Por otra parte, el procedimiento con el que la tabla es construida ofrece una ordenada clasificación de toda la materia retórica; la articulación de las ramas del árbol o diagrama va de lo general a lo particular y el público puede recorrer — con el ojo y con la mente — el procedimiento con el que el autor ha entendido y ordenado el material. De esa manera, la tabla está en situación de desarrollar funciones diversas: de un lado, es un ‘contenedor’ ordenado de la sabiduría transmitida de los antiguos y de otro, garantiza a la vez la sabiduría y la operatividad; el saber retórico es propuesto de tal modo que esté dispuesto para un resultado: los lugares del

<sup>9</sup> ‘Franciscus Robortellus Vtinensis (...) ex antiquorum rhetorum praescripto tabulam hanc auditoribus suis spectandam offert, in qua omnia, quae ad artem pertinent dicendi, tum a Cicerone et Quintiliano, tum a Hermogene et Aristotele scripta, suis locis disposita cernere quibus potest, et singulae quaestiones unde ortum habeant, ad quodue caput sint referendae, cognoscere, ut cum interpretando aliqua controuersia orta fuerit, omnis de ea disputatio suo loco apte collocata uideatur’.

árbol son, al mismo tiempo, contenedores de la tradición y ‘lugares’ de la invención retórica. En otras palabras, la tabla condensa y ordena técnica y saber, de modo que se puedan reactivar una y otro.

Ese fue el éxito del método propugnado por Robortello, cuya llave fue la utilización de los lugares tópicos y la visualización de los procedimientos seguidos para clasificar la materia. Por otra parte, el ‘manifiesto’ veneciano de Robortello lanza un puente directo con el mundo antiguo: Aristóteles y Hermógenes, Cicerón y Quintiliano aparecen como los únicos reales interlocutores. Además Robortello introduce el uso de ciertos instrumentos visuales en la misma línea de los árboles y de las tablas diagramáticas: una parrilla o rejilla rectangular, modelada sobre todo bajo la influencia de Hermógenes, sirve de esquema en el que se recorren los artificios utilizados por los poetas; otro ejemplo es la conocida y muy utilizada, desde la Antigüedad grecolatina, siriga o zampoña [Fig. 3]. En la obra de Francesco Robortello se observa un hecho cada vez más frecuente en la Italia de mediados del siglo XVI: cómo se entreteje el uso de los instrumentos visuales (árboles, tablas, diagramas y otros de variada factura), incrementados en la nueva dialéctica, con el debate sobre la lengua literaria, la retórica y la poética y cómo todo ello se interacciona con la industria del libro y con la instrumentación, siempre rica y elaborada, con la que se presenta.

Esos nuevos métodos de ‘visualización’ tienen en Ludovico Castelvetro (1505-1571) uno de sus más genuinos cultivadores. Este autor utiliza los diagramas en forma de árboles y está altamente sensibilizado con un método cercano al ramista. Igualmente echa mano de otras figuraciones, que evocan las ruedas lulianas y otras de tradición medieval (*artificiosa rota*), mediante las cuales se visualiza el método seguido para encontrar ‘la materia’ necesaria para componer una pieza cualquiera. En esta óptica adoptar los diagramas y otras técnicas de visualización sirve en primer lugar, según Castelvetro, para ofrecer al lector un instrumento de conocimiento económico y eficaz. Igualmente ello permitirá una percepción a la vez unitaria y particular de la realidad, sacando a la luz sus nexos y distinciones, gracias a que el esquema-diagrama de un lado nace de un proceso riguroso de definición y división del material y de otro fotografía el proceso y se basa en una ordenada disposición de los resultados obtenidos. La fuerza del diagrama estriba, según Castelvetro, en su capacidad de reproducir la estructura del proceso cognoscitivo y del objeto conocido; es el instrumento ideal de comunicación entre la realidad sensible y la realidad intelectual, satisfaciendo a la vez las exigencias del

ojo del cuerpo y del ojo de la mente. En segundo lugar, el diagrama posee otra característica: no sólo sirve de interfaz (para usar una metáfora informática) entre el cuerpo y la mente, sino que — en cuanto que reproduce el orden totalizador de las definiciones y de las divisiones — torna inmediatamente visibles también las carencias del texto analizado, mostrando de esa manera la divergencia existente entre el verdadero conocimiento de la retórica y la práctica de su enseñanza.

Por todo esto, el diagrama se presenta como un instrumento eficaz de la memoria; es más, el uso de los diagramas y de otros instrumentos de visualización constituye para Castelvetro la sustancia del arte de la memoria, de acuerdo con una línea de la cultura europea que ligaba el tema de la memoria con la cuestión del método. En otro orden de cosas, la memoria artificial utiliza, según Castelvetro, los mismos instrumentos que la memoria natural, con respecto a la que ejerce una mera función subsidiaria; en ambas (reduciendo las cosas que se han de recordar a un número restringido y ordenándolas) la lógica y la dialéctica juegan un papel esencial. Según se puede observar, la influencia en este autor del *De inuentione dialectica* de Rodolfo Agrícola es manifiesta. Como también es clara en Orazio Toscanella (1520 ca. -1579), preceptor y maestro de jóvenes, a la par que importante editor veneciano.

La postura de Toscanella es emblemática de los distintos enfoques que caracterizan la práctica del arte de la memoria en esta época. Conoce el arte de la memoria en su forma tradicional, la que usa de las *imagines agentes*; también conoce el moderno sistema de memoria, el teatro de Giulio Camillo, en el que las imágenes del teatro llegan a interpretarse como 'invenciones' iconográficas.<sup>10</sup> Sin embargo, Toscanella parece mostrar una cierta desconfianza hacia la corriente del arte de la memoria que prometía un acceso rápido al saber universal. Como sucedía con otros autores, el arte de la memoria que más interesó a Tosca-

<sup>10</sup> En *El arte de la memoria* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974) F. Yates analiza y reconstruye el 'teatro de la memoria' que Giulio Camillo había ideado, según sabemos fundamentalmente a partir de la edición póstuma de su *L'idea del teatro* (1550), disponible hoy en la edición prologada de Lina Bolzoni (Palermo: Sellerio, 1991). La misma Bolzoni alude a la doctrina mnemotécnica de Camillo en no pocos trabajos, entre los que cabe citar, *Il teatro della memoria. Studi su Giulio Camillo* (Padua: Liviana, 1984) y 'Scrittura e arte della memoria. Pico, Camillo e l'esperienza cinquecentesca', en *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Convegno internazionale di studi nel cinquecentesimo anniversario della morte (1494-1994)*, a cura di Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Firenze: Olschki, 1997), pp. 359-381; una selección bibliográfica sobre Giulio Camillo aparece en una de las últimas aportaciones de Lina Bolzoni, 'Emblemi e Arte della Memoria: Alcune note su invenzione e ricezione', en Lopez Poza e.a. (eds), *Florilegio de Estudios de Emblemática*, pp. 15-31, n. 10.

nella es el que concede poca importancia a las imágenes y concentra su atención en los lugares tópicos, tanto como contenedores de los materiales, como cuando actúan como modelos generativos. Las premisas de este modelo mnemónico están en la dialéctica de Rodolfo Agrícola, vulgarizada en nuestro autor. Fijar en la memoria los lugares quiere decir para Agrícola modelar la mente para volverla rápida en la gimnástica de la 'invención'. El mapa de los lugares debe ser claro, ordenado y distinto, como un texto escrito. Resulta significativo a este respecto que las letras del alfabeto no sean comparadas, como era tradicionalmente, con las imágenes del arte de la memoria, sino con los lugares tópicos; son estos el nuevo alfabeto de la mente y vienen a constituir la llave de acceso al infinito juego de la invención y de la combinación. Todo ello se puede percibir en su obra *Armonia di tutti principali retori* (Venecia, 1569) que es un verdadero esfuerzo de sincretismo, síntesis y visualización: las ruedas, los diagramas y las tablas sirven como memoria local y son los protagonistas del nuevo arte de la memoria; ellos constituyen el mapa que permite orientarse en el vasto campo de la lógica y de la enciclopedia y juntos ofrecen la llave de acceso a la máquina retórica que Toscanella construyó.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4. ¿Qué sentido tienen los diagramas en la *Rhetorica christiana* de Diego Valadés?

Después de haber trazado a grandes rasgos el panorama del método diagramático (en conexión con los mecanismos mnemotécnicos) en la Italia del siglo XVI, conviene volver la vista al capítulo con el que se inicia la parte segunda de la *Rhetorica christiana* de Diego Valadés y en el que aparece el diagrama o tabla sobre el arte de la retórica. Un análisis por-

<sup>11</sup> Hay otros autores importantes, preocupados igualmente por la retórica y la memoria. Por pertenecer a la Orden franciscana (como Diego Valadés), cabe citar a Francesco Panigarola (1548-1594), famoso por su memoria prodigiosa y autor de un *Trattato della memoria locale*, inserto en su producción predicatoria. Estuvo ligado estrechamente, como sucedía con Agustín Valerio, a los Borromeo, en el intento de proporcionar a la oratoria sagrada toda la rica instrumentación que había caracterizado a la producción literaria profana en prosa y en poesía. Si la gran tabla sinóptica con la que Valerio acompaña su *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* proporciona una elegante versión de los intereses que el ambiente borromaico tiene por el método basado en la dialéctica y en los órdenes tópicos, el tratado de Panigarola (*Modo di comporre una predica*, 1581) hacer ver el método, por así decirlo, en acción, o mejor un método ya reducido a puro mecanismo combinatorio.



menorizado del mismo nos lleva inevitablemente a ver en él evidentes ecos de las afirmaciones hechas por personajes más o menos cercanos al ambiente borromaico como Valerio, Robortello, Toscanella, etc. y a formular a la vista de ello una serie de verosímiles conclusiones. En primer lugar, la presencia y utilización de este medio de exposición se incardina en el ámbito de la memoria y más en concreto en el de la memoria natural. Después de afirmar Valadés que ‘la memoria se conserva y aumenta con el trabajo, la lectura y la meditación asidua’, es la colocación y disposición (*‘collocatione dispositioneque’*) de todo lo que el orador desea tener en la memoria lo que perfecciona en la práctica esta parte de la retórica. En este sentido, el parecer de fray Diego no se aparta ni un ápice de lo afirmado por los estudiosos de la memoria desde el mismo autor de la *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, para quien la doctrina mnemotécnica no sirve de nada si no se confirma con trabajo, dedicación, esfuerzo y atención. Otros, como Quintiliano, echarán mano de la práctica y el ejercicio (*‘exercitatio et labor’*) como medios para hacer efectiva el arte de la memoria; y ya, en pleno Renacimiento, se recomendarán la meditación continua y el ejercicio frecuente como requisitos y exigencias para el ejercicio de la memoria natural: *‘Assidua legendi ac dicendi exercitatio, adhibito ordine, ratione ac modo exclusiva tumultuaria ac confusa lectione’*, nos dice Palmireno<sup>12</sup>.

Consecuencia de una acertada colocación y disposición de los contenidos será la presentación del conjunto en una especie de diéresis o división del mismo (*‘ueluti diaeresim, hoc est, diuisionem totius artis’*), a fin de mejor aprender todo lo relativo, en este caso, al arte de la retórica. También en este aspecto se muestra Diego Valadés seguidor de una larga tradición de ‘sencillos remedios’ que sirven para apuntalar la memoria natural. En ese ámbito se mueven, por ejemplo, los consejos que Quintiliano da y que tendrán amplia acogida en las retóricas latinas del Renacimiento. Así Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas sostiene que la correcta división y clasificación de los contenidos resulta muy útil para la memoria, pues ‘quien haya realizado una correcta división, nunca se equivocará al ordenar los contenidos’<sup>13</sup>; lo mismo afirman Pedro Ciruelo o Tomás

<sup>12</sup> Juan Lorenzo Palmireno, *Rhetorica. Pars tertia et ultima* (Valentiae: Ex typographia Ioannis Mey, 1567), p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> ‘Memoria, sicut alia omnia, excolendo augetur. Plurimum ualet diuisio et recta compositio, nam qui recte diuiserit, nusquam in rerum ordine errare poterit. Proderit et per partes ediscere; et hae partes non sint perexiguae. Non erit inutile aliquas in margine apponere notulas, ut anchoram, si de naui sit dicendum, spiculum si de proelio’ (Francisco

de Trujillo, aplicándolo a la memorización de un sermón muy largo o utilizando, en el caso de Trujillo, un símil muy curioso (los contenidos de un sermón se dividen en agrupaciones que persiguen todas un mismo fin, del mismo modo que los soldados, obedeciendo a un mismo general, se agrupan en pelotones o decurias)<sup>14</sup>.

La plasmación concreta de la correcta *disposición* - *división* de los contenidos de cualquier tema se realiza en la presentación de un cuadro o tabla *sinóptica*, que pone ante los ojos del futuro orador todo el conjunto y sus partes. El carácter básico y fundamental ('uelut basin et fundamentum') que tiene esta sinopsis es semejante al que presentan los cimientos en una construcción, la quilla en una nave y el corazón en un ser vivo (en este último caso de manera proporcional al desarrollo de las diferencias en cada ser vivo). Esa breve y reducida tabla (*tabella*), a manera de esquema (*diagramma*), nos dirá también, de manera clara y sucinta, en qué consiste cada cosa y de qué partes consta.

Si Diego Valadés no se mostrara en otros muchos e importantes pasajes de su *Retórica* seguidor de las técnicas de la memoria artificial, se diría que, a la luz tan solo de este primer capítulo de la segunda parte de su obra, nuestro rétor defiende, de acuerdo con el pensamiento de Quintiliano, un sistema mnemotécnico alejado del basado en los *loci et imagines* y muy cercano al defendido por Petrus Ramus y Omer Talon, para quienes los dos pilares de la memoria son la *diuisio* y la *compositio*, que son, a su vez, la *uia* y la *ratio* de la *dispositio* dialéctica.<sup>15</sup> Para Ramus la memorización de un texto exige en primer lugar la división en partes (*distributio*), luego la reflexión (*meditatio*), acompañada de un suave recitado, para que la memoria cuente con la ayuda combinada de oído y vista; y por último, las reglas de la *dispositio*, que son, según los ramistas, la única *ratio* que puede ayudar a la memoria. El orden que aplica la dialéctica ramista permite obtener mejores resultados (y con menos esfuerzos) que los alcanzados por quienes cultivan la memoria a base de

Sánchez de las Brozas, *Obras, I: Escritos retóricos. Tratado de dialéctica y retórica*, introducción, traducción y notas de César Chaparro Gómez (Cáceres: Institución Cultural El Brocense, 1984), p. 322).

<sup>14</sup> Sobre Tomás de Trujillo hemos escrito 'La memoria en el *Thesaurus concionatorum* de Tomás de Trujillo', en *Nulla dies sine pagina. Humanistas extremeños, ayer famosos, hoy desconocidos* (en prensa).

<sup>15</sup> En este sentido, es muy expresivo que cuando Valadés toma casi al pie de la letra la definición de *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* dada por Agustín Valerio — en Valadés será *Rhetorica christiana* — (véase la nota 6ª de este artículo), el 'ars inueniendi, tractandi et eloquendi omnia' del obispo de Verona es modificado, ligera pero significativamente, por fray Diego en 'ars inueniendi, tractandi et disponendi omnia'.

signos e imágenes externos y falsos. En resumen, se trata de descubrir el argumento subyacente en todo enunciado y el tipo de *methodus* aplicado por el autor.<sup>16</sup>

Si embargo, como hemos tenido ocasión de manifestar reiteradamente, Diego Valadés es un entusiasta defensor de la memoria artificial por múltiples motivos; entre ellos principalmente porque en la utilización de sus complejas técnicas ve nuestro rétor la justificación y aprobación del método ensayado por la Orden franciscana para la evangelización y catequisis de los habitantes de Nueva España y que no es otro que el uso de las imágenes. En ningún ámbito de la retórica tendría mejor cabida tal utilización que en el apartado de la memoria artificial, que se basa en la construcción ‘per locos et imagines’. A la par, en el desarrollo de esa temática Valadés se encontrará inevitablemente con el manejo de las imágenes por parte de los pueblos indígenas; de ahí que los *exempla* a ellos referidos se inserten igualmente en los capítulos que dedica a la memoria artificial, ya que en estos — al igual que en los ejemplos de la retórica clásica — se comprueban la bondad y utilidad de dicho método. Consecuencia de ello es la elaboración por parte del fraile franciscano de un *locus* mnemotécnico (‘el atrio del Tabernáculo’), plagado, eso sí, de inexactitudes, errores y artificios, pero muy cercano a la mentalidad de los receptores del mensaje cristiano.<sup>17</sup>

En el papel tan importante y básico que Diego Valadés concede a la memoria en la elaboración de su *Retórica*, este utiliza mecanismos de afianzamiento de la misma, tanto en su vertiente natural como artificial. De ese modo, a lo largo de su obra se encuentran marcas alfabéticas que se suceden cada diez líneas, cuadros sinópticos o diagramas, árboles, láminas o grabados y, en fin, un amplio despliegue de recursos que pre-

<sup>16</sup> En el ámbito hispano algo parecido dice Palmireno quien, en términos propiamente ramistas, propone confiar tan solo en la *methodi dispositio*, al sostener que las definiciones y las divisiones desbrozan el camino de la memoria y que la distribución de contenidos facilita, incluso, el aprendizaje del *uerborum contextus*, ya que, de acuerdo con lo dicho por Horacio, ‘una vez claro el asunto, las palabras seguirán sin esfuerzo’, alusión y doctrina que estaban ya en las *Scholae* de Petrus Ramus (cf. Luis Merino Jerez, *Retórica y Artes de memoria en el Humanismo renacentista* (Cáceres: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Extremadura, 2007)).

<sup>17</sup> La descripción de un atrio o patio (espacio abierto y al aire libre) plagado de columnas y estas, a su vez, atiborradas de piedras preciosas (realidad y simbología muy del gusto de los indígenas) debía trasladar a los habitantes de aquellas tierras recién conquistadas y evangelizadas a un universo que sin duda les resultaría familiar y querido y en medio del cual podrían aprender y recordar mejor los libros, autores y contenidos de las Sagradas Escrituras, que son la verdadera *inuentio* de ese gran *topos* mnemotécnico.

tenden, entre otras cosas, la fácil memorización de un texto, calificado por el propio autor como *Summa*, más que *Rhetorica*. No es la obra de Valadés un *ars* o una *institutio* a la manera que entendían los humanistas, sino una *summa*, que, por la complejidad del contenido y por las circunstancias ideológicas del momento en que se publica, está sometida a no pocas tensiones que influyen decisivamente en la selección y disposición de los contenidos. El sistema mnemotécnico propuesto por Valadés no escapa a esta consideración y así se desarrolla, no de manera lineal, sino en sucesivos círculos concéntricos, que van profundizando en el estudio de la materia sin excluir repeticiones o redundancias que sirven de conexión entre los diferentes estadios de la doctrina por él expuesta. A veces, resulta difícil saber si Valadés está hablando de los lugares tópicos, propios de la invención y ‘contenedores’ y ‘generadores’ de los argumentos y temas, o de los lugares de la memoria artificial en los que se asientan ordenadamente las diferentes imágenes.<sup>18</sup>

Los diagramas o árboles que aparecen en la *Retórica* valadesiana pertenecen en su disposición y estructura (ordenadas divisiones y diferenciaciones) al ámbito de la memoria natural; sin embargo, su capacidad de ‘poner ante los ojos’ el conjunto y sus partes les hace ser el primer peldaño en la escalera de la memoria artificial; son a la vez ‘ojo del cuerpo y ojo de la mente’. Forman parte de unas prácticas dispositivas visuales poco formalizadas (al igual que las ‘ruedas’) y son el instrumento ideal de comunicación entre la realidad intelectual y la realidad sensible. Cuando esos artificios dispositivos se van haciendo más complejos, se tornan ‘figuras’ (una parrilla, una siringa, como en el caso de Robortello), en cuyas partes se va disponiendo el contenido o argumento. Estamos a un paso ya de la memoria artificial.

Estas reflexiones sobre los diagramas valadesianos nos llevan inevitablemente a las afirmaciones de Valerio, Robortello, Toscanella y Castelvetro, comentadas en el capítulo anterior. E incluso más atrás: a un personaje del que depende en muchos aspectos Diego Valadés y que no es otro que el famoso filósofo y teólogo mallorquín Raimundo Lulio, del que toma, entre otras cosas, nada más y nada menos que lo referido a los nueve suje-

<sup>18</sup> La causa está en el papel que asume la memoria en el andamiaje retórico de Diego Valadés. La memoria desempeña prácticamente todas las funciones asignadas a la *inuentio*; es el punto de partida del discurso y en ella se guarda todo el material, que se va sacando a lo largo del mismo. Las primeras etapas en la creación del discurso Valadés las asigna a la memoria; la invención, que tiene lugar después en el proceso compositivo, opera mucho más como *dispositio*.

tos o materias (tópicos o términos) de la Retórica.<sup>19</sup> Como es bien sabido el *Arte* de Lulio es en una de sus caras un arte de la memoria, en la que están ausentes las imágenes, pero no los diagramas, como el cuadrado del mundo elemental, el círculo del cielo o el triángulo de Dios; en otra, expresa el arte de la naturaleza, una naturaleza en que lo real y lo lógico hallan su punto de encuentro: por el nombre de Dios — que podríamos asimilar al entendimiento o *mens* divinos — las cosas son Unidad, los grados (o escala) del universo se comunican. El lenguaje de Lulio se basa en letras empleadas en una suerte de álgebra mística y las ruedas en que están escritas esas letras se ponen, con su revolución, en correspondencias combinatorias. El inevitable fárrago de imágenes que poblaban las artes medievales es sustituido en Lulio por un arte hecha de letras, diagramas, árboles y ruedas.

De evidente influencia luliana y a medio camino entre la disposición diagramática y la figura o imagen propiamente dicha están dos de los veintisiete grabados que aparecen en la obra de Valadés: los que representan, por medio de árboles genealógicos, la *Jerarquía eclesiástica* y la *Jerarquía civil* [Fig. 4]. En las ramas del primero de ellos se colocan los diversos rangos de la autoridad eclesiástica desde el predicador y administrador de los sacramentos, los clérigos hasta los obispos, cardenales y patriarcas; en la cumbre está el Sumo Pontífice. En las ramas del segundo aparecen las autoridades civiles en su jerarquía ascendente desde el padre de familia, el juez, el gobernador, el virrey hasta el rey y en la cima el emperador cristianísimo. Detrás de estos árboles figurativos de Valadés están las composiciones arbóreas lulianas y más en concreto el *arbor apostolicalis-imperialis* que aparece en la *Explanatio compendiosaque applicatio artis Raymundi Lulli* (Lyon, 1523) de Bernard de Lavinheta, tal y como ha demostrado suficientemente Linda Báez.<sup>20</sup>

Antes de terminar estas líneas, no queremos pasar por alto una significativa similitud, señalada igualmente en trabajos anteriores<sup>21</sup>, entre las

<sup>19</sup> La dependencia de nuestro rétor respecto a Lulio ha sido puesta de manifiesto por Mauricio Beuchot, *Retóricos de la Nueva España* (México: UNAM, 1996), pp. 18-30, y más recientemente y en los aspectos que aquí se tocan en los interesantísimos libros de Linda Báez-Rubí, *Die Rezeption der Lehre des Ramon Llull in der Rhetorica Christiana (Perugia, 1579) des Franziskaners Fray Diego Valadés* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004) y *Mnemosina novohispánica* (México: UNAM — Instituto de investigaciones estéticas, 2005); por nuestra parte, también hemos tocado este tema en 'Palabra e imagen en la configuración de la nueva *Respublica Indorum*: los testimonios de Diego Valadés y Guamán Poma de Ayala', *Imago Americae* (en prensa).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Báez-Rubí, *Die Rezeption*, pp. 181-184.

<sup>21</sup> Nos referimos en concreto a 'Diego Valadés y Matteo Ricci' (en prensa) y 'Enseñanza y predicación', 73-92.

obras de Diego Valadés, predicador franciscano en Nueva España y de Matteo Ricci, evangelizador jesuita en el imperio chino. La simetría entre ambos es notable en muchos aspectos<sup>22</sup>, pero el que nos importa destacar en este momento es el interés de ambos por el arte de la memoria (especialmente la artificial) y la utilización de unas concretas técnicas mnemotécnicas en la evangelización y persuasión de los nuevos pueblos, al Occidente y al Oriente de Europa. En efecto, en ambos se aborda la construcción de un *locus* mnemotécnico artificial (un atrio en el caso de Valadés y un palacio en la obra de Ricci), en ambos se constata la presencia de grabados e imágenes mnemotécnicas y en ambos la existencia de diagramas o tablas arbóreas es frecuente. Como ha demostrado M. Lackner<sup>23</sup>, Ricci conocía el *Ars magna* de Lulio y desde luego le resultaban familiares ciertas formas de diagrama como la de los árboles, presentes en el sistema luliano de representación de los *loci communes* de la teología y de la filosofía. Matteo Ricci adaptó al contexto chino también esta parte de la tradición mnemónica occidental. El modelo de diagrama que utiliza el fraile jesuita es el del tipo de *stemma*, que posee una estructura arborescente, como un árbol genealógico, y que es analítico: demuestra cómo un tema dado (las ciencias, las virtudes, etc.) puede ser dividido en las partes que lo componen [Fig. 5]. De esa manera, sus dos aplicaciones son: de una parte la ‘disección’ analítica de un término o argumento y de otra, la división del mismo en diferentes *loci*. Combinando la representación metodológica (en *stemma*) del pensamiento aristotélico con la representación formal de la división luliana del saber (*arbor scien-*

<sup>22</sup> Ambos son personajes de dos mundos, de dos culturas. Son seres ‘partidos’ en sus experiencias vitales. Indio y europeo el hijo de Francisco de Asís, europeo y asiático el seguidor de Ignacio de Loyola. Ambos se sienten en lo íntimo de su ser miembros de dos pueblos, partícipes de dos culturas, ensambladas por la realidad de un oficio o vocación: la de ser evangelizadores y propagadores de la Buena Nueva. Sus vidas transcurrieron entre el Nuevo y el Viejo Mundo, en una continua adaptación y aculturación: Valadés y Ricci se sintieron siempre como unos habitantes más de aquellas tierras lejanas. Aprendieron sus lenguas, se vistieron como vestían los indígenas, se acomodaron a sus climas y costumbres y a la hora de transmitir esas experiencias a un mundo europeo, viejo y religiosamente dividido, procuraron destacar las similitudes entre las culturas, la continuidad de unas realidades distantes en el espacio, pero que formaban parte, a pesar de ello, de una sola Humanidad, de una única familia y género, la de los hombres, según la fe cristiana, creados por Dios y redimidos por Cristo.

<sup>23</sup> Michael Lackner, ‘Jesuit *Memoria*, *Chinese Xinfu*: Some preliminary remarks on the organisation of memory’, en F. Masini (ed.), *Western humanistic culture presented to China by Jesuit missionaries (XVII-XVIII centuries)* (Roma: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1996), pp. 201-219.

tiae), Ricci proporciona a los intelectuales chinos un completo mecanismo mnemotécnico.<sup>24</sup>

Una última reflexión tan solo. La encrucijada de caminos y corrientes que se adivina en la ‘monstruosa’ y deshilvanada obra de Diego Valadés (una obra singular y fronteriza del género retórico)<sup>25</sup> se advierte también en el tratamiento que de la memoria hace nuestro rétor; y ello por las varias funciones que esta asume dentro de su Retórica: en primer lugar, la memoria, en su vertiente más natural, se nos ofrece como instrumento útil para la mejor aprehensión de su obra y, en general, para el oficio de predicador (ahí entrarían las técnicas diagramáticas); en segundo lugar, el estudio de la doctrina sobre la memoria artificial nos descubre un sistema de lugares e imágenes que pretende articular el pensamiento con unidades visuales y no verbales, de acuerdo con un sistema propio de lugares e imágenes; finalmente, la memoria ofrece también un buen pretexto para ilustrar los usos lingüísticos o, mejor, comunicativos de los indígenas de Nueva España.

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<sup>24</sup> Además, en el caso de Matteo Ricci, la tradición cultural china ofrecía claros ejemplos de utilización de diagramas, sobre todo de los que representaban organizaciones jerárquicas de cualquier tipo.

<sup>25</sup> Así la define María L. López Grigera, *La retórica en la España del Siglo de Oro* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1994); por su parte, Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, *Barroco. Representación e ideología en el mundo hispánico (1580-1680)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002) dice de la obra de Valadés que ‘se instala tangencialmente en la historia de la retórica y su lugar ha de buscarse en el territorio de esos saberes mediados o colonizados por el mundo de la acción o de la política; es el resultado de múltiples exilios y desplazamientos de los lugares comunes de emanación de los discursos, tanto como lo es su libertad respecto del corsé formalista que garantiza la propiedad de los textos de eminente carácter técnico’ (p. 305).

## 5. Appendix: figuras

Pars secunda.

49

In arte rhe-  
tor. cōside-  
randa sunt  
scilicet.

Officium oratoris est.

Docere. Necēssitatis.  
Mouere. Vtīloris.  
Delectare. Suauitatis.

In quibus  
versetur tā  
quam in

Funda-  
mento.

Et

Generi-  
bus cau-  
sarum:

Principa-  
libus.

Ex quibus  
partibus  
constet.

Et

Minus  
Principa-  
libus.

An sit. Est pars Philo-  
sophiæ rationalis.  
Quid sit. Scientia;  
quæ est duplex.  
Qualis sit. Est ornata  
tropis & figuris.

Laude  
&  
Vituperio

Deliberati-  
uo.

Judiciali.

Inuentione rerū

Elocutione quæ sit verbis.

Pronūciatione  
quæ erit.

Memoria.

Exordio quod  
constat.

Narratione.

Partitione.

Cōsutatione quæ

Et tandem egressione aut conclusionē.

Natura  
lis  
Artificia  
lis

Ab bonis  
vel  
Malis.

Quis.  
Ad quem  
De quo.  
Iusto.  
Malo.  
cōuenienti. nienti.

Tristium  
Iucundarū.

Clarior.  
Vtīlis.  
Proprijs.

Clara. &  
Suaui. In

Naturalis, &  
Artificialis.

Verbis.  
Signis.

Clara.  
Breui.  
Verisimile.

Summaria.  
Principalis.  
Nuda vel simplici.

Confirmat, vel  
Reprehendit.

Peclecta.  
Impflecta.

Declama-  
toria.

Oratoria.

Externis  
corporis.  
Animæ.

Possibilita-  
tū.  
Vtīli-  
tatis.  
Honesto-  
tatis.  
Necē.  
Spe. vel  
Timore.

Meliorum. &  
Efficaciorum.

Artem &  
Tempus.

Voce.  
Vultu.  
Gestu.  
Cōpositione.  
Et habitu.

Attentos.  
Dociles.  
Beneuolos.

Fig. 1.



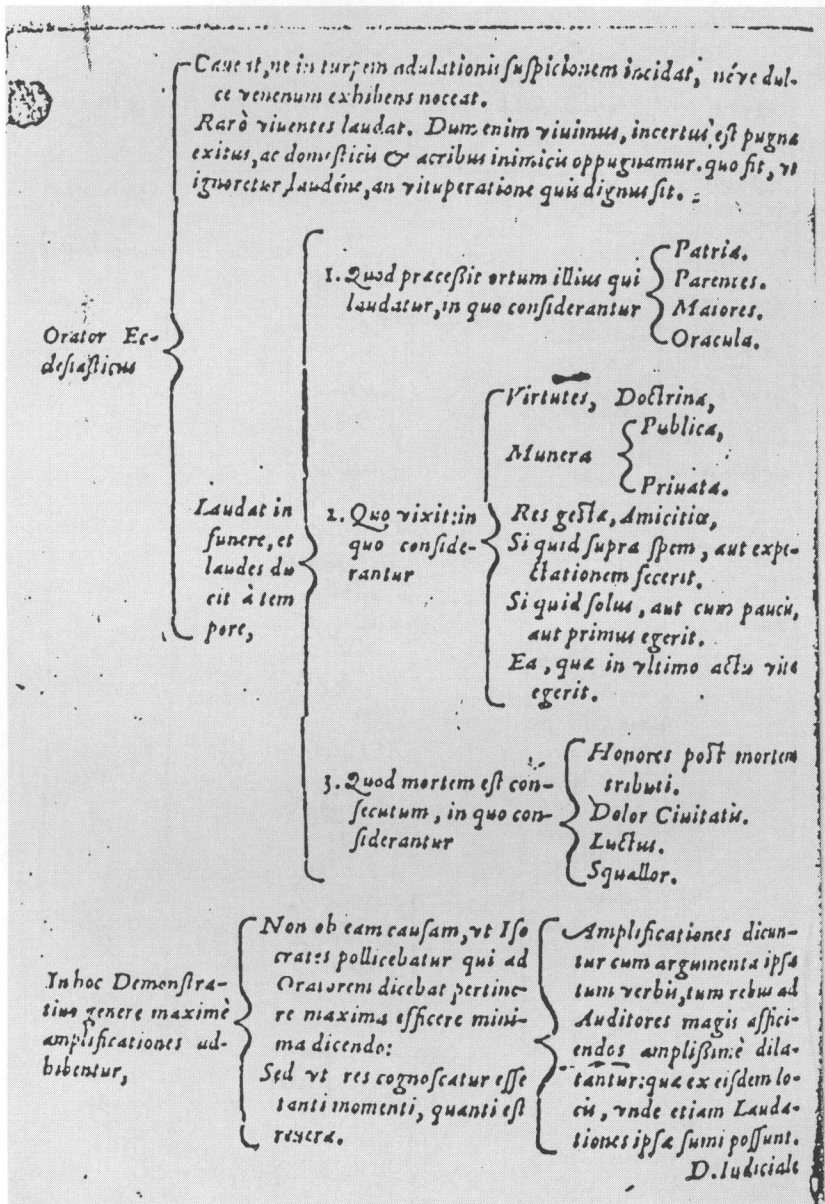


Fig. 2.

Figura sm tent.	Explicatio fig. sentent.	Epichere ma.	Locutioni immutatio	Figurae	Collatio
<p>Ἰσορροπία</p> <p>In Austro phus pthio iustia ophn dion. qz iustia is monstratur. ut est ἐπὶ ἁβριμας ἐλ. προ σω. του, ἐκ ἀπὸ τρε- που.</p>	<p>h. i. insano</p> <p>ne quis diu lugar obit dece duo pūm illa iubet ut luctus fiat intra modum, Hic facit, ut Austro inducitur in sensu.</p> <p>Corr. Tacitus in lib. de gen. monibus aut Homerum ju- minis luctus, iuris mēti nisi. vnde poeta ille diuinas Pentec aia ut pte uolunt</p>	<p>ἀπὸ προσω πῶ, ἀπὸ αἰ- τίας</p>	<p>Capitis. i. hominis μελεφορα ut Arist. in pothia μερὰ κε φορῶ Demosthe- nus Fabius loc. Melpomene incipit na callus eni callidus pulsā di ci- tharam in pān lugubris cantus χοροφρα- οὶς πέπης μελεφορα Liquorem uocem. Arist. m. b. top. λω κλῆν ἢ μα λακῶν φρ νῶ. ἀστ uocem λωῆς.</p>	<p>Melpomen ὁρ νοῦ Ἰδία ου</p>	

Fig. 3.

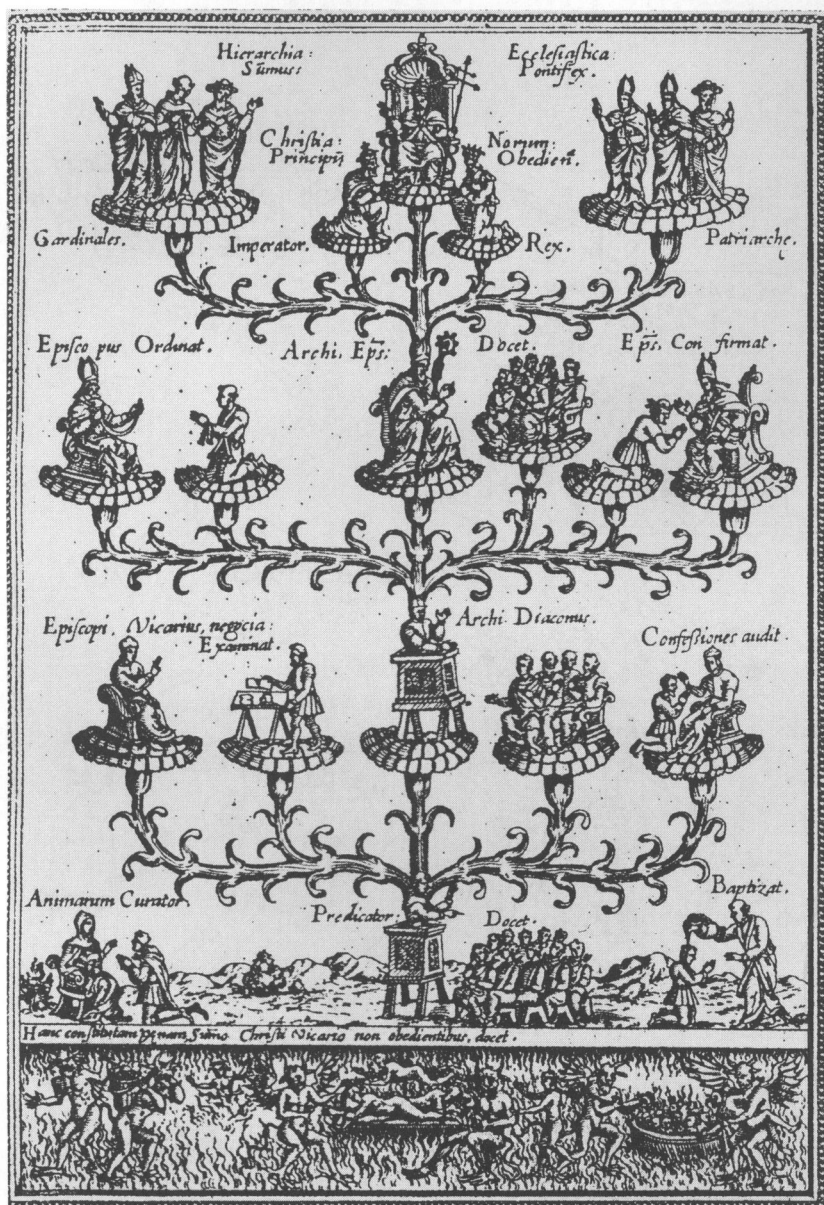


Fig. 4.



Tom DENEIRE – Jeanine DE LANDTSHEER

*LIPSIANA* IN THE WALLER MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION:  
IN PARTICULAR AN UNKNOWN LETTER FROM  
JOHANNES SAMBUCUS (1582) AND A LETTER TO  
JANUS DOUSA (1583) RECONSIDERED\*

### 1. The Waller Manuscript Collection<sup>1</sup>

The Waller Manuscript Collection of the University of Uppsala is a rich treasury for students and scholars in many fields. Initially gathered by the Swedish physician Erik Waller (Önum 1875 - Lidköping 1955) as part of his still larger *Bibliotheca Walleriana*, it comprises 'one of the most voluminous collections of autographs, i.e. original manuscripts by scientists, philosophers, scholars, politicians, explorers from all parts of the world, from the Middle Ages through the 1950s'.<sup>2</sup> To boot, a recently finished Waller Project (lead by Ulf Göranson, director of the Uppsala Library) has made the Erik Waller autograph collection accessible on the Internet via a searchable catalogue of the scanned images of all documents.<sup>3</sup> In it, one finds several tens of thousands of poems, letters, articles, etc. in languages ranging from Afrikaans over Icelandic to Turkish, dating from anywhere between the fourteenth and the twentieth century. This heterogeneous collection — containing xeroxed documents as well as original manuscripts, which can be several pages long but also merely a cut out signature as in the case of Erasmus<sup>4</sup> — clearly arose from

\* This article fits within the F.W.O.-Vlaanderen project G.0340.08, 'Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): his Works, his Ideas, his Network' under the supervision of Dirk Sacré and Jan Roegiers. We would like to thank Prof. Dirk Sacré for proofreading this paper and his help with the transcription of the Latin text.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Krister Östlund, 'The Catalogue of the Waller Manuscript Collection. A Presentation of an Ongoing Project', *Lias* 29/2 (2002), 289-293. We are grateful to the author for drawing our attention to these *Lipsiana*.

<sup>2</sup> [Http://www.ub.uu.se/arv/waller/eindex.cfm](http://www.ub.uu.se/arv/waller/eindex.cfm).

<sup>3</sup> [Http://www.ub.uu.se/arv/waller/eprojekt.cfm](http://www.ub.uu.se/arv/waller/eprojekt.cfm).

<sup>4</sup> Waller Ms benl-00291a.

Waller's interest in (the history of) medicine, hence the numerous documents dealing with this subject, such as letters by famous physicians, pharmaceutical prescriptions and the like. The documents were originally stored in 79 boxes sorted by Dr Waller first nationally and then, to some degree, alphabetically within each nationality. So, for example, in the two documents which will be dealt with in this paper, Waller Ms benl-00496 and Ms hu-00068, 'benl-' stands for Belgium and The Netherlands and 'hu-' is short for Hungary.

## 2. *Lipsiana* in the Waller Manuscript Collection

Among the Neo-Latin texts in the Waller Collection — in total over 1800 items — we find the same diversity of documents, geography and chronology. One of the earliest documents is a fifteenth century (partial) copy, numbering 15 pages, of Gilles de Corbeil's (1165-1223) *Liber de urinis metricè compositus*<sup>5</sup>, while one of the last documents is a short letter by the anatomist Joseph Hyrtl (1811-1894) to his student Adolph Sternberg (fl. 1890) expressing his joy that the Latin language has not yet completely fallen into oblivion among students.<sup>6</sup>

Also present in the Waller Manuscript Collection — apart from a few documents casually mentioning the Leuven humanist — are four letters by or addressed to Justus Lipsius (1547-1606):<sup>7</sup>

- (1) Waller Ms hu-00068: Johannes Sambucus to Lipsius (1 May 1582);
- (2) Waller Ms benl-00496: Lipsius to Janus Dousa (11 May [1583]);
- (3) Waller Ms benl-00497: Lipsius to Nicolaus Brullartius (2 November 1598);
- (4) Waller Ms benl-00295: Thomas Fienus to Lipsius (31 July 1601).

<sup>5</sup> Waller Ms cod-00004.

<sup>6</sup> Waller Ms de-02526.

<sup>7</sup> On the figure of Justus Lipsius, see for instance three exhibition catalogues (with additional bibliography): Gilbert Tournoy – Jan Papy – Jeanine De Landtsheer (eds), *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september – 17 oktober 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 13 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997); Ronny Dusoier – Jeanine De Landtsheer – Dirk Imhof (eds), *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) en het Plantijnse Huis*, Publicaties van het Museum Plantin–Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 37 (Antwerp: Museum Plantin–Moretus, 1998) and Jeanine De Landtsheer – Dirk Sacré – Chris Coppens (eds), *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 oktober – 20 december 2006*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 21 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006).

Of these, documents (3) and (4) are of lesser importance for this contribution. The former, Waller Ms benl-00497, is the original letter to Nicolaus Brullartius<sup>8</sup>, which was until the disclosure of the Waller Collection only known in published version from Lipsius's *Centuria ad Germanos et Gallos*.<sup>9</sup> The original copy was untraceable by the time Gerlo and Vervliet drafted their *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse*, while in 1888 it was still part of the London Alfred Morrison Collection.<sup>10</sup> As the original differs only slightly from the version published by Lipsius in 1602 and since the letter is presently part of a forthcoming PhD thesis<sup>11</sup>, we have chosen not to discuss it. Waller Ms benl-00295, then, consists in a photographic fac-simile of a letter from physician Thomas Fienus<sup>12</sup> to Lipsius. As the original is easily found in ms. Lips. 4 of Leiden University Library and has been edited already as ILE XIV, 01 07 31<sup>13</sup>, there is no point in studying the reproduction of this original in the present paper.

Conversely, documents (1) and (2) are more interesting, as they do supplement our present knowledge of Justus Lipsius and the corpus of his letters. The first document, Waller Ms hu-00068 (see ill. 1), is an autograph letter from Johannes Sambucus, which was entirely unknown before. Waller Ms benl-00496 (see ill. 2) to Janus Dousa Sr is the unknown, original version of a letter, published as two separate letters in a 1621 (partial) edition of Lipsius's letters. Consequently, its discovery

<sup>8</sup> On Nicolaus Brullartius Silerius (Brullart de Siléry, 1544-1624), a French diplomat in the service of Henry IV, see ILE XIV, 01 05 14 B [ILE XIV = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae Pars XIV: 1601*, quam curavit edendam Jeanine De Landtsheer, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten (Brussels, 2006)].

<sup>9</sup> Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum Centuria ad Germanos et Gallos* (Antwerp: Johannes Moretus, 1602), no. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Aloïs Gerlo – Hendrik Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse, 1564-1606* (Antwerp: Éditions Scientifiques Érasme, 1968) [hereafter GVi], p. 272, referring to 'Catalogue coll. autogr. letters Alfred Morrison, III, Londres, 1888, pp. 178-179'. Hence one can presume that Waller acquired this letter shortly afterwards at an auction.

<sup>11</sup> Tom Deneire, *The Correspondence of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): 1598. Critical edition with introduction, annotations and stylistic study* [Leuven, 2009]. The letter is to be published in the *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae* series as ILE XI, 98 11 02 BR.

<sup>12</sup> On Thomas Fienus (Fyens, Antwerp 1567 – Leuven 1631), see ILE VI, 93 11 21, 20 [ILE VI = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae Pars VI: 1593*, quam curavit edendam Jeanine De Landtsheer, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1994)]; Veerle Vermeesch, *Thomas Fienus. Een bio-bibliografische studie (1567-1631)* (Leuven: Unpublished MA thesis, 1991) and Robrecht Van Hee, 'Thomas Fijens (1567-1630), chirurg te Antwerpen, hoogleraar te Leuven', *Scientiarum historia*, 26 (2000), 15-21.

<sup>13</sup> The editor, who worked directly with ms. Lips. 4, did not mention this mere photographic reproduction as it is *in se* of no importance to the textual tradition of the letter.



is of great value, not only because the original was unknown to GVi, but also because its text was published unsuspectingly in ILE I as ILE I, 80 00 00 and 83 05 11.<sup>14</sup> In the following pages, both of these documents will be edited (cf. *infra Appendices 1-2*) and discussed.

### 3. Waller Ms hu-00068: Johannes Sambucus to Lipsius (1 May 1582)

Until present, it was thought that Lipsius's correspondence with the Hungarian humanist Johannes Sambucus was limited to three letters, all from Lipsius's hand.<sup>15</sup> Ms Waller hu-00068 adds to this corpus a unique autograph document from Sambucus, which answers directly to Lipsius's last preserved letter. Whereas the other *Lipsiana* in the Waller manuscript collection were already known from the *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse*, the present 1582 letter from Sambucus is not mentioned in it<sup>16</sup> nor did it come to the attention of the editors of ILE I or the editor of Sambucus's correspondence.<sup>17</sup>

The first contacts between Justus Lipsius and Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), a noted humanist and one of the court physicians to Emperor Maximilian II<sup>18</sup>, were probably established via Christopher Plantin. After

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae Pars I: 1564-1583*, cura Aloïs Gerlo – Marcel Nauwelaerts – Hendrik Vervliet with an English introduction, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1978).

<sup>15</sup> Based on ILE I and this contribution, the lemma 'Sambucus, Joannes' in GVi, p. 532 should be updated into: [74 07 00] S, 82 03 15 S, 82 05 01, Q IV, 2 [the latter referring to a collection of fictitious letters addressed to friends and learned colleagues, *Iusti Lipsii Epistolicae Quaestiones* (Antwerp: C. Plantin, 1577)].

<sup>16</sup> For a survey of other such newly discovered letters (i.e. supplementing GVi), see Tom Deneire, 'An Overlooked Letter from Justus Lipsius to Abraham Ortelius (6 August 1593) dealing with Jacobus Monavius's *Inscriptio Musaeoli*', *Lias*, 34 (2007/1), 11, n. 2. Addantur Gilbert Tournoy, 'Lipsiana Novissima, I-II - The correspondence of Lipsius', *ibid.*, 26/1 (1999), 17-21 and Erik De Bom, 'Aphorisms and Examples, History and Politics. Chokier's *Thesaurus Politicorum Aphorismorum* and Lipsius's Political Works', *ibid.*, 21-47.

<sup>17</sup> Hans Gerstinger (ed.), *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsamboky) 1554-1584. Mit einem Anhang: die Sambucusbriefe im Kreisarchiv von Trnava von Anton Van-tuch* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1968). Alfred M.M. Dekker, 'Ein unbekannter Brief des Johannes Sambucus über die Duilius-Inschrift', in Jan den Boeft – Antonius H.M. Kessels (eds), *Actus. Studies in Honour of H.L.W. Nelson* (Utrecht: Instituut voor Klassieke Talen, 1982), pp. 89-108 (p. 100, n. 4) mentions seven letters that are unknown to Gerstinger. The present letter from the Waller manuscript collection is not among them.

<sup>18</sup> On Johannes Sambucus (János Zsamboky, 1531-1584), see e.g. Arnoud Visser, in De Landtsheer – Sacré – Coppens (eds), *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, pp. 102-109 (with bibliography on p. 109) and Id., *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 128 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).



travelling to the Low Countries in 1563, the rich Sambucus, owner of a large collection of manuscripts and books, had established a reputation for himself in those parts as a *maecenas*. The year after, he published his influential *Emblemata* with the *Officina Plantiniana* and in 1565 he managed to secure an imperial privilege for all of Plantin's prints for the duration of six years. When Lipsius then tried his luck at the court in Vienna in 1572, Plantin would undoubtedly have suggested he might employ Sambucus, who had been appointed imperial historiographer and had been one of the archphysicians at the court since 1564. As a result, Lipsius dedicated his first edition of Tacitus' *Opera Omnia* (1574) partly to Maximilian II (*Annales* and *Historiae*) and partly to Sambucus (*Germania*, *Agricola* and *Dialogus de oratoribus*).<sup>19</sup> Obviously, he was not able to get around the Emperor in his dedication, but also he wanted to thank the man who had helped him in real terms. Still, from a letter dated 5 October 1575 to Victor Giselinus (1543-1591), a close friend and former fellow student of his<sup>20</sup>, it seems that Lipsius was somewhat disappointed in Sambucus as a *literator*:

A Samboco here ad me litterae, sanequam amicae. Humanissimum virum coram repperi, non pro opinione mea (tecum hoc sit) litteratum. Ita in his quoque rebus ludit et illudit illud sive Fatum sive Fortuna: et quidam mererentur famam, quidam habent.<sup>21</sup>

Obviously, Lipsius appreciated his kindness (*humanitas*) and erudition more than his literary accomplishments, as also appeared from the aforementioned dedicatory letter:

(...) in te singularem humanitatem cum singulari eruditione coniunctam dilexi, vel ut magis *proprie*<sup>22</sup> loquar, *amavi*.<sup>23</sup>

After this the contacts between Lipsius and Sambucus came to a standstill and in the years to come their lives and careers would take different roads. Soon after Lipsius's departure from Vienna, Sambucus was frustrated in his hopes of becoming the director of Maximilian II's library. After having had to cope with financial difficulties, he became isolated when the court moved to Prague in 1578.<sup>24</sup> Lipsius, on the other hand,

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>20</sup> On whom, see ILE I, 70 09 17, 52.

<sup>21</sup> ILE I, 75 10 05, 15-18.

<sup>22</sup> *propriae* in ILE I, [74 07 00] S, but corrected into *proprie* in the *Errata typographica*.

<sup>23</sup> ILE I, [74 07 00] S.

<sup>24</sup> Visser, in De Landtsheer – Sacré – Coppens, *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, p. 105.

was quickly climbing the social and academic ladder. Although he had not been able not obtain a position at the court in Vienna, his efforts were probably not in vain, as he was appointed professor of ancient history in Jena in October 1572. After two years he left this position for a short stay in Keulen in 1574, but then quickly moved back to his native Overijse in early 1575 and from the end of October onwards to Leuven. Shortly afterwards he would be promoted to *licentiatus utriusque iuris* (23 January 1576) and be appointed professor of history and law at Leiden University (April 1578).

When the silence in their correspondence, which ensued after Lipsius's letter of dedication in July 1574, was finally over, Lipsius's attitude towards Sambucus had slightly changed and the tone of his writing letter was much more self-confident.<sup>25</sup> In the next letter (formerly the last one between them), dating from 15 March 1582, Lipsius briefly greeted Sambucus and informed him about his new position in Leiden. He then politely, but in a very matter of fact tone, asked him whether he could inspect a Tacitus-manuscript he remembers having seen at Sambucus's.<sup>26</sup>

Our present, newly discovered letter is undoubtedly an answer to this. In it, we do indeed see a somewhat subdued Sambucus, who praises Lipsius's successful Tacitus edition with commentary and curteously answers that the manuscript material Lipsius requested, has already been sent to Plantin. In the last part of the letter he asks Lipsius to spur on his colleague in Leiden, the philologist Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614), to return a collection of Greek letters gathered by Sambucus, since Andreas Dudithius wishes to translate them into Latin. Furthermore, Vulcanius should finally publish the letters from Manuel Chrysoloras or send them back.

#### 4. Waller Ms benl-00496: Lipsius to Janus Dousa (11 May 1583)

Sambucus's requests were politely ignored, if not by Lipsius, then certainly by Vulcanius. Nevertheless he would continue to generously lend his colleagues material from his rich personal collection, a common practice among members of the *respublica litteraria*. In 1583, for example, Sambucus would send a codex containing Propertius to the German Neo-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ILE I, 82 03 15 S.

Latin poet and physician Johannes Posthius (1537-1597). Posthius forwarded his material to Franciscus Modius (1556-1597), a humanist from Flanders with a nose for philology, who in turn passed it on to Lipsius.<sup>27</sup> In Waller Ms benl-00496 Lipsius, among other things, offers these notes to his good friend Janus Dousa, who was working on the Roman elegiac poet.

Janus Dousa Sr<sup>28</sup> was born in 1545 in the Dutch Noordwijk, some 10 kilometers north of Leiden. He received his education at the Latin school of Lier and, among other places, the University of Leuven (1562-1566). In 1571 his son Janus Jr was born from his marriage to Elisabeth van Zuylen and the family moved to Leiden. In the same year Dousa travelled to Leuven in order to be introduced to Justus Lipsius by their mutual friend Giselinus. For his merits as commander of the city's defences during the second Spanish siege of Leiden in 1574, the States of Holland appointed Dousa president of the *curatores* charged with founding the University. Dousa would remain head of the board until his death and after a second visit to Lipsius in Leuven (1577), he managed to bring about the latter's move to Leiden in March 1578, where Dousa had offered him a professorship.<sup>29</sup> Soon, the two of them would become friends for life. In the subsequent years Lipsius was two times rector (1579-1581 and 1587-1589) of the University, in which capacity he contributed greatly to the organisation of the young institute. Moreover, the success of his (mainly) philological publications, among others his second edition of Tacitus with commentary to the *Annales* (1581), as mentioned in Sambucus's letter, was reflected on the institute that harboured the professor. In the years 1582-1583 Lipsius also had a hand in finalizing Plantin's move to Leiden. As the Antwerp area was becoming increasingly dangerous and Plantin had been for some time looking out to set up a new branch of the *Officina Plantiniana*, Lipsius pointed out to him that the growing University needed a printer.<sup>30</sup> After a few prospective

<sup>27</sup> Cf. ILE I, 83 03 23 and ILE I, 82 10 20.

<sup>28</sup> On Janus Dousa Sr (Jan van der Does), see e.g. Chris Heesakkers, in De Landtsheer – Sacré – Coppens, *Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk*, pp. 131-144 (with bibliography on p. 144) and Id., 'Twee Leidse boezemvrienden van Justus Lipsius: Janus Dousa en Jan van Hout', in Jeanine De Landtsheer – Pierre Delsaert (eds), *Iam illustravit omnia. Justus Lipsius als lievelingsauteur van het Plantijnse Huis [= De Gulden Passer*, 84 (2006)] (Antwerp: Vereniging van Antwerpse Bibliofoelen, 2006), pp. 1-26.

<sup>29</sup> Lipsius was officially appointed professor of history and law on 5 April 1578.

<sup>30</sup> Its first printer, Guilielmus Silvius, had recently died and his son Carolus went bankrupt shortly after.

visits to Leiden (at which occasions Plantin stayed at Lipsius's), he matriculated on 29 April 1583.

Several of the above mentioned elements return in Lipsius's letter to Dousa, which dates from 11 May 1583. The letter consists in a single sheet containing the text of the letter *stricto sensu* and a *postscriptum*. However, when it was edited in 1621 in the *Iusti Lipsi Epistolarum (quae in centuriis non exstant) Decades XIIIX*<sup>31</sup>, it ended up as two separate letters on p. XVIII (letter) and p. 18, no. 7 (*postscriptum*).<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, Gerlo – Vervliet, who did not have the original version at their disposal, listed it as 83 05 11 (letter) and 80 00 00 (*postscriptum*). The editors of ILE I published it as such, but still acknowledged<sup>33</sup> that ILE I, 80 00 00 is found in Ms. OB 7 of the Utrecht University Library immediately after the text of ILE I, 83 05 11 and lacking any form of address...

Looking at the manuscript in question, one instantly notices that both letters actually make up only one. The Utrecht manuscript OB 7 primarily contains a wide range of correspondence ranging from 1576 to 1624, the first part of which (folia 1r-28r) is a set of 91 letters (1576-1602) to members of the Dousa family, copied by Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641).<sup>34</sup> Folia 1-27 of the manuscript later served for compiling the 1621 *Decades XIIIX* edition and were already numbered as 'Decades' by Buchelius. On f. 5<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript, our present letter has been numbered 6 (letter) and 7 (*postscriptum*) by Buchelius<sup>35</sup>, although he had previously acknowledged that no. 7 was the continuation of no. 6, as he noted 'inferius eadem l[itte]ra' next to the signature concluding no. 6. Still, this vital piece of information went unnoticed and the separate numbering caused the letter to be split up in the 1621 *Decades XIIIX* edition.<sup>36</sup> That both parts ended up so far from each other in the printed edition is perhaps explained from an editorial or typographical mistake. As the *Decades XIIIX* uses both Arabic and Roman numerals, a printer or compositor could easily have misinterpreted a late message that no. 7 was to be added on p. xviii after no. 6, so that it ended up as an individual letter on p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Justus Lipsius, *Epistolarum (quae in Centuriis non exstant) Decades XIIIX*, with a preface by Johannes Isacius Pontanus (Harderwijk: apud viduam Thomae Henrici, impensis Wilhelmi Verbruggen, 1621).

<sup>32</sup> The mistake is already signalled in the *comments*-field of <http://waller.uu.uu.se/object.xsql?DBID=22646>.

<sup>33</sup> ILE I, pp. 222-223.

<sup>34</sup> For a list of the individual Lipsius letters in the manuscript, see GVi, p. 537.

<sup>35</sup> Originally '5' and '6', which Buchelius later corrected into '6' and '7'.

<sup>36</sup> The same happened in ILE I, although the editors did use Ms. OB 7 for their edition.

In the letter, Lipsius is in high spirits due to his friend's arrival, but still he urges the curators of the University for haste in dealing with Plantin's *negotium*, which obviously alludes to his appointment. Lipsius wanted these matters to be dealt with speedily, in his own words, because Plantin's move did not please his (Catholic and Spanish) friends all too much. In the second part of the letter he mentions the catalogue of the Easter Frankfurt book fair, a letter from Paulus Melissus, a poem by Janus Guilielmus and finally Modius's notes on Propertius.

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**Appendix 1: Johannes Sambucus (Vienna) to Justus Lipsius [Leiden]**

1 May 1582

Tacitus deserves the efforts of writers and historians. Lipsius's previous work on the author and his future commentary will be a great asset for the study of the historian. As to Lipsius's request for manuscript material, Sambucus has already sent Plantin all that he has. Perhaps something went amiss with the delivery? He wants Lipsius to ask Vulcanius to return his letter collections.

Answer to ILE I, 82 03 15 S.

o: Uppsala University Library, Waller Ms hu-00068.

Sal[utem].

- Dignus est Tacitus, quem omnes eloquentes et historici non lectionibus modo suis, sed luce similium et commentariis illustrent, quae adfecta sunt restituant, quae obscura vetustatis opibus omnium in lectione ponant
- 5 familiaremque magis reddant. Quae adhuc profecta in eum scriptorem abs te sunt, sana, erudita et idonea omnes confitentur; si lumen explicationum tuarum accesserit, quis tuas cogitationes improbet, quid reliquum in Tacito haeserit, quod non facile emergat lectoremque expediat? Utinam, mi Doctiss[ime] Lipsi, accommodare tuo consilio ac subiicere de

5-7 adhuc ... explicationum] Lipsius's first edition of Tacitus was published by Plantin in Antwerp, in 1574, as *C[aii] Corn[elii] Taciti Historiarum et Annalium libri qui exstant, Iusti Lipsii studio emendati et illustrati [...]; eiusdem Taciti liber de moribus Germanorum; Iulii Agricolae vita; incerti scriptoris Dialogus de oratoribus sui temporis [...]*. The first part was dedicated to Emperor Maximilian II of Austria (cf. ILE I, [74 07 00] M). The second part, the *opera minora* — including the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, the authorship of which was dubious according to Lipsius, who was more inclined to attribute it to Quintilian —, were dedicated to Sambucus (cf. ILE I, [74 07 00] S). In this letter Sambucus refers to Lipsius's reworked edition of Tacitus: *C[aii] Corn[elii] Taciti Opera omnia quae exstant [...], Quorum index pagina sequenti, I[ustus] Lipsius denuo castigavit et recensuit* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1581) and the *Iusti Lipsii ad Annales Corn[elii] Taciti liber commentarius, sive notae* (*ibid.*), which appeared a few months later with a dedication to the States of Holland in acknowledgement of their hospitality. Lipsius kept working on his favourite author, while learned colleagues collated his edition against manuscripts in the libraries in their neighbourhood and sent him lists of variant readings or suggestions for either the text or the commentary. In 1585 a new edition (*C[aii] Corn[elii] Taciti Opera quae exstant / Ex Iusti Lipsi editione ultima: et cum eiusdem ad ea omnia Commentariis aut Notis*), in folio this time, was issued in Leiden by Plantin, combining the commentary to the *Annales* and a new part, the *Ad libros Historiarum annotationes*, of which Andreas Dudithius became the patron.

- 10 meae bibliotheculae capsulis et lectionibus quiddam possem! Tentavi id ante biennium fere, cum Plantino cohortanti ad eam mentem quarum meministi varietatum libri vetusti margines et aliunde accitas aliquot lectiones eidem, ut tecum co[m]mun[ic]aret, miseram. Praeterea nil nunc succurrit. Si itaque eum abs Plantino in Tacitum indicem notationesque non
- 15 accepisti, require meo nomine illius fide in rempubl[icam] officio debito. Sin periisse putas, ut fit in turba cartarum, ut ille ait, linearumque, fac me certiore. Unum est quod summopere abs te mutuo praestitum velim: uti Vulcanium moneas de volumine Ep[isto]larum seriorum Graecorum, magnis impensis molestiisque a me comportatarum. Reddat unde accepit,
- 20 quod Andreas Dudithius, vir omni elegantiae stilo nobilis, Latine inter-

12 varietatum] Cf. René Hoven with the collaboration of Laurent Grailet and English translation by Coen Maast, *Lexique de la Prose Latine de la Renaissance - Dictionary of Renaissance Latin from prose sources* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2006<sup>2</sup>), s.v. ‘varietas’: ‘a variant (in a text)’.

12 margines] Metonymous for *adnotationes in margine*.

13 miseram] The letter to Plantin, in which Sambucus sent the abovementioned list of annotations, was lost. Yet compare Sambucus to Petrus Victorius (1499-1585), 17 December 1574: ‘Ego Triclinii et Thomae Magistri scholia in Aeschylum Plantino misi, non displicebunt fortasse eruditus’ (Gerstinger, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus*, p. 166).

15 require] There is no trace of such a request either, probably since Lipsius and Plantin were living around each other’s corner at the time, nor does Lipsius mention Sambucus as a contributor of *addenda et corrigenda* to his Tacitus.

16 ut ... ait] If ‘ut ille ait’, as the expression is commonly used, suggests that Sambucus is quoting a classical source — one might expect so as *sin periisse putas* scans as the first half of a hexameter/pentameter — this could not be identified. Perhaps Sambucus is only referring to something Plantin said or wrote?

18 Vulcanium] On Bonaventura Vulcanius (Bruges, 1538 - Leiden, 1614), see ILE I, 78 03 00, 16. Vulcanius was notorious for assembling manuscripts from everywhere, which he subsequently forgot to return. Already on 1 February 1578 he was offered the Leiden chair of Greek language and culture. Although Vulcanius accepted, he returned to Antwerp (where he had only just obtained a position as secretary of Marnix of St Aldegonde and rector of the Latin school) and only came to Leiden in June 1581, where he matriculated on 28 June and was accepted into the *collegium professorum* on 8 August. On 2 September he also acted as secretary to its board for the first time. Cf. Philippus C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, dl. I (1574-1610)*, 7 vols (‘s-Gravenhage: Nijhof, 1913-1924), I (1913) [= *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. Grote serie*, 20], 6, 20 and 26.

18 Ep[isto]larum ... Graecorum] Cf. Gerstinger, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus*, p. 222 (Sambucus to Camerarius Jr, 7 July 1577): ‘Volumen illud a me tot impensis Epistolarum seriorum graecorum ad 600 comportatum Antuerpiae latitat’. On these letters, which are difficult to identify, see *ibid.*, pp. 295-296.

20 Andreas Dudithius] On Andreas Dudith (1553-1589), a Hungarian humanist staying in Breslau, see ILE II, 84 03 17 [ILE II = *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae Pars II: 1584-1587*, cura Marcel A. Nauwelaerts, iuvante Sylvette Sué, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België (Brussels, 1983)].

pretari deposcit. Alterum, ut idem Ep[isto]las Chrysolorae meas cum Camerarii multis in lumen geniumque producat aut remittat si me amat. Vale, Kal[endis] Maiis, Vienna, 82. T[uus] totus Sambucus.

**21** Ep[isto]las Chrysolorae] A manuscript with a collection of letters by Manuel Chrysoloras was sent to Joachim Camerarius Sr for publication in 1568, but was never returned to Sambucus. After Camerarius's death (Leipzig, 1574) Sambucus asked his son, Joachim Camerarius Jr, to forward the letters to Bonaventura Vulcanius, cf. Leiden, University Library, ms. Vulc. 105:3 (Camerarius Jr to Vulcanius, 13 November s.a.): 'Adiunxi (...) Chrysolorae Graecas ep[isto]las, una cum nonnullis paternis, quas (si videbitur tibi) in ordinem rediges et typographo alicui, qui emendate imprimat, excudendas dabis. [Ad Sambucum a q] Praefationem ad illas, si cognovero quid de illis futurum sit, brevi adiiciam'. Vulcanius received the collection, but did not publish it, even though the plan continued to exist for a long time, see e.g. Leiden, University Library, ms. BPL 1886 (Vulcanius to Camerarius Jr, 29 June 1577): 'nolui committere quin (...) vel hoc unum significarem, me Praefationem tuam in Chrysolorae et parentis tui p[ro]p[ri]a[m] m[em]oria[m] epistolae vehementer expectare, qua allata dabo operam ut voluntati tuae satisfiat.' As late as 1593 Camerarius was still awaiting the letters, Leiden, University Library, ms. Vulc. 105:3 (Camerarius Jr to Vulcanius, 1 April 1593): 'Cum nihil adhuc appareat publice de illis manuscriptis libris quos tibi ante aliquot annos communicavi, putavi tibi significandum esse me reperisse optatam occasionem ut praesertim Ep[isto]lae brevi diligenti typographo commendatae lucem videre queant'. Only in 1595 the collection was finally returned to Nürnberg, cf. Leiden, University Library, ms. Vulc. 105:3 (Camerarius Jr to Vulcanius, 12 September 1595): 'Epistolae paternae tandem recepi, de quarum editione cogitarem'. See also Arnoud Visser, *Johannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 43-44. In 1583 Sambucus ventilated his irritation in his autobiographicaly, where the edition is listed in the section of future plans: 'Chrysolorae Epistolae graecas ad familiares cum Bessarionis, et Planudis. Item S. Patrum ad 600. nondum visas, magnis sumptibus a se collectas. Vulcanius detinet.' (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 52, n. 126). Still, Vulcanius did not keep these letters for no reason. In *codex Vulcanius* 95 of the Leiden University Library, Vulcanius transcribed the Greek letters of Chrysoloras, which he then started to translate in another manuscript (*codex Vulcanius* 30) into Latin under the title *Eloquentissimi viri Manuelis Chrysolorae Epistolae e Graeco in Latinum versae per Bonaventuram Vulcanium* (f. 1). At several places the booklet refers to the folio-numbers that Vulcanius himself entered into *codex* 95. Remaining Greek words in the margin suggest that *codex* 30 was a work in progress and that Vulcanius still had to refine his translation at these points. Nevertheless, the project must have been abandoned at some stage, as nothing of this material ever appeared in print.

**21** Chrysolorae] Manuel Chrysoloras (Constantinople, ca. 1350 - Constance, 1415) was a professor of Greek at Florence. His letters are edited in Migne's *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 156. See also Giuseppe Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora, I dotti Bizantini e le origini dell'Umanesimo*, 1 (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1941).

**22** Camerarii] On Joachim Camerarius Sr (1500-1574), a German hellenist and professor at Leipzig, see ILE I, 72 10 19.

**23** Vale ... Sambucus] Sambucus liked to vary the word order of his ending formulas. The position of *Vien[nae]* might strike one as rather odd, but is no exception. See e.g. 'XI. Kalendas Quintilis 1584. Vienna. Tuus Totus J. Sambucus' (Gerstinger, *Die Briefe des Johannes Sambucus*, p. 282).



**Appendix 2: Justus Lipsius (Leiden) to Janus Dousa [Utrecht]**

11 May [1583]

Plantin's arrival in Leiden cheered up Lipsius. He wishes that the curators of the University might speedily complete the administration for his appointment. The Frankfurt book fair was a disappointment. Still, Lipsius joins the catalogue to his letter. Dousa can show it to Canterus as well. He also adds a letter from Melissus, a poem from Guilielmus and some notes on Propertius from Modius, who found them in an old codex from Posthius. Lipsius has received a letter from Hieronymus van Berchem, who appended Palmerius's notes to Tacitus to his letter. The notes are not worth much attention though.

*Date:* Although Lipsius omitted the year, the editors of ILE I rightly situated the letter in 1583, because of the first item discussed in it, the recent arrival of Plantin in Leiden, who still needs to be officially appointed by the University Board.

*Place:* That Dousa was staying in Utrecht when Lipsius wrote to him is implied by the mentioning of Theodorus Canterus (l. 6) and Lambertus vander Burch (*D[omino] Decano*, l. 9). See also *supra*.

o: Uppsala University Library, Waller Ms benl-00496.

Lines 1-10:

c: Utrecht University Library, ms OB 7, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, no. 6; **d**<sub>1</sub>: *Dec. XIIIX*, p. XVIII; **d**<sub>2</sub>: ILE I, 83 05 11.

Lines 11-14:

c: Utrecht University Library, ms OB 7, f. 5<sup>v</sup>, no. 7; **d**<sub>1</sub>: *Dec. XIIIX*, p. 18, nr 7; **d**<sub>2</sub>: ILE I, 80 00 00.

Iano Douzae S[alutem] Dico.

Tua ad te redit, non sine literis meis nec parte animi quae apud vos est.  
Plantinus tamen me hic adventu suo recreavit, in cuius negotio vereor ne

2 Tua] Scil. Elizabeth van Zuylen (13 November 1545 – after 1623), whom Dousa married on 22 September 1566. She was the daughter of the noble family Zuylen van Nuyvelt, which for centuries played an important role in Utrecht politics.

2 parte animi] An echo of the famous *animae dimidium meae* topos (Hor., *carm.*, 1, 3, 8).

3 Plantinus ... adventu] Plantin arrived in Leiden at the end of April 1583. He matriculated on 29 April (cf. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae, 1575-1875* (The Hague, 1875), p. 14) and on 12 May Lipsius informed his friend Theodorus Canterus that Plantin had been in town for almost two weeks (cf. ILE I, 83 05 12, 3-4: 'adventu amicorum et inprimis Plantini, qui apud nos iam septimanas paene duas haesit'). One week later this information changed into Plantin having arrived three weeks before with his whole household and his luggage (cf. ILE I, 83 05 19: 'iam ante tres septimanas huc adveniret cum familia omni et supellectile'). Nevertheless, it would take until 12 May

- lenti sint, more suo, ii quos nosti. Confecto tamen eo celeriter opus est,  
 5 ne fastidiat ille, praesertim cum haec mutatio et migratio non valde ex  
 voto amicorum eius sit. Cetera hic ut reliquisti. Nundinae nihil serium,

1584 for the curators and mayors to appoint Plantin the official printer of the University, at which point he did receive an annuity of 200 fl. with retroactive effect to 1 May 1583 (cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, p. 40 and p. 119\*. 4 ii ... nosti] Scil. the other two *curatores* of Leiden University, Paulus Busius (Buys) and the recently appointed Abraham van Almonde (Dousa was the third). Hardly one week later Lipsius brought up the question again in a letter to Busius and urged him to discuss matters with his colleagues and to confirm the promises made to Plantin by an official statement. First, he mentioned Plantin's annuity of 200 florins, to which they might add a little extra, allegedly to meet his moving expenses. Second, there was the exemption from taxes on wine and beer, a matter in which he wanted to be treated on equal terms with the professors. Cf. ILE I, 83 05 19.

5-6 non ... amicorum] In the correspondence of Laevinus Torrentius we notice that already on 21 May the theologian Gerardus Vossius who was residing in Rome, had informed about Plantin, after word of his move got out: 'De Plantino vero nostro quod ais, mihi pergratum fuit, nempe cogitari Romae quod ei et commodum et honestum sit, desiderari tamen nostrum de ipsius fide ac religione testimonium. Dicam igitur quod res est: omnino me existimare eum probum hactenus et integrum permansisse, uti et se permansurum plurimis suis epistolis per me monitus spopondit. (...) Nunc tamen in Hollandiam commigravit Leydae (...) habitans' (cf. Marie Delcourt – Jean Hoyoux, *Laevinus Torrentius. Correspondance. I. Période liégeoise: 1583-1587*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 119 (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1950), pp. 42-43, no. 18: Torrentius to Vossius, Liège, 17 September 1583). In Plantin's own correspondence, we find the same Torrentius expressing his concerns: 'Non acquissimo, mi Plantine, animo fero te Lugdunum Batavorum commigrasse, non quin homini ubique bene esse possit, quod tibi equidem pro mea in te voluntate evenire opto, sed quod quum publicam quodammodo personam geres, et ob artis tuae praestantiam doctorum ubique virorum sermonibus assiduo celebreris, non tam tua quam reipublicae interest ubi locorum, quoque modo ac ratione agas, vitamque tuam instituas' (cf. Max Rooses – Jan Denucé, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Uitgave van de vereniging der Antwerpsche bibliophielen, 9 vols (Antwerp: Bushmann, 1883-1920), VII, 1012: Torrentius to Plantin, Liège, 10 October 1583).

6 reliquisti] Most likely, Dousa had gone to Utrecht to discuss some political or family matters (cp. ILE I, 80 11 00) and was now joined by his wife (cf. l. 2) who must have visited her relatives there. This trip has no connection with Dousa's journey to Antwerp shortly before in March (cf. ILE I, 83 04 02 D Lipsius to Dousa in Antwerp). However, it is possible that from that trip Dousa carried with him the catalogue of the Frankfurt book fair (cf. infra), which was brought back by the representatives of the *Officina Plantiniana*.

6 Nundinae] The semi-annual book fair in Frankfurt was the largest at the time in Europe (Leipzig and Augsburg had similar book fairs). Its Lent-edition (*Fastenmesse*) took place (for eight days) from Passion Sunday to Easter; the Autumn-edition (*Herbstmesse*) two weeks before Saint Michael's Day (cf. R. Lauwaert, 'De handelsbedrijvigheid van de Officina Plantiniana op de Büchermessen te Frankfurt am Main in de XVIe eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 50 (1972), 124 and *The Frankfurt book fair: the Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne*, ed. with historical introduction, original Latin text with English translation on opposite pages and notes by James Westfall Thompson (Chicago: Caxton club, 1991), pp. 45 and 121). See also Erik Breuls, 'De Büchermessen van Frankfurt en de internationale verspreiding van Lipsius' werken door de Moretussen...', in De Landtsheer – Delsaerdt (eds), *Iam illustravit omnia*, pp. 281-294.

- λῆρος πολύς. Catalogum adiunxi quem, quia unicus nobis est, licebit etiam Cantero nostro ostendas. Ecce litterae ad te a Melisso, item carmen a Guilielmio. Adiunxi Modii in Propertium notas, quas ait e veteri codice  
 10 Posthii se tibi elucubrasse. Scribit alia, quae leges coram. Vale, Vir

10 [a] in Propertium o || Posthii: *vacuum c, d<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>*

7 λῆρος πολύς] Cf. Aristoph., fr. 452, 2: 'τὸ γὰρ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν θάνατον λῆρος πολύς'.  
 7 Catalogum] Lipsius's correspondence confirms on several occasions that Plantin, as well as his successors, Franciscus Raphelengius in Leiden (from January 1586) and Johannes Moretus in Antwerp (from July 1589), provided Lipsius with the catalogue of the most recent semi-annual book fair in Frankfurt; he was encouraged to make a selection that was taken care of at the next occasion.

8 Cantero ... ostendas] Cf. ILE I, 83 05 12 (Lipsius to Theodorus Canterus in Utrecht): 'Catalogum nundinarum misi ad Douzam nostrum cum mandato ut tecum communicaret. Videbis nihil serium praeter Brissonii de Formulis antiquis, et alia pauca'. On Theodorus Canterus (+ 1617), a humanist and politician from Utrecht, see ILE I, 77 09 02, introd. and *Theodori Canteri Epistolae. Brieven (1570-1614) van Dirck Canter over klassieke en middeleeuwse teksten in handschrift en druk*, ed. J. A. Gruys, Blaeu-boek serie, 3 (Amsterdam: AD en L, 1998<sup>2</sup>).

8 litterae ... Melisso] Melissus had written to Lipsius on 10 March, referring to poems sent a year before to him and to Dousa by the intermediation of Plantin (which means that the poems were entrusted to Plantin or his agent on the spring book fair of 1582), cf. ILE I, 83 03 10. One can readily assume that on this occasion, Melissus wrote a letter to Dousa as well. On the German composer and humanist Paulus Melissus (Schede, 1539-1602), *poeta laureatus* since 1564 and curator of the *Bibliotheca Palatina* since 1586, see *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin, 1953-), XVII, 15-16, and Demmy Verbeke, in *De Landtsheer - Sacré - Coppens* (ed.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)*, pp. 393-404 (with extensive bibliography).

8-9 carmen ... Guilielmio] Lipsius means the promising young German poet Janus Gulielmius (Lubbeck, 1555 – Bourges, 1584), on whom see ILE I, 80 08 11.

9 Modii ... notas] Cf. ILE I, 83 03 23, 2-3: 'Mitto, ecce, tandem Duzae quoque nostro promissas in Propertio variantes lectiones ex codiice manu exarato Posthii'. Modius had already promised to send these annotations in ILE I, 82 10 20. On Franciscus Modius (Maulde), see ILE I, 76 01 07 and Marcus de Schepper – Chris L. Heesakkers, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas: avec un répertoire bibliographique des humanistes et poètes néo-latins. Supplément 1970-1985* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1988), p. 318. Dousa's annotations on Propertius were published as an appendix to his son's edition *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii [...] recognita et notis illustrata a Iano Dousa filio. Accessit Pervigilium Veneris [...] Iani Dousae patris in Propertium paralipomena* (Leiden: F. Raphelengius, 1592). Lipsius wrote a liminary poem (cf. ILE V, 92 01 08 D, 2<sup>nd</sup> version and [92] 04 10 D); Janus Jr sent a copy to Lipsius (cf. its covering letter, ILE V, 92 07 08 D). It was still in Lipsius's library when he died, see the catalogue made after his death, Leiden University Library, ms. Lips. 59, f. 14r, book 9.

10 Posthii] On Johannes Posthius (Germersheim, 1537 - Mosbach, 1597), a German Neo-Latin poet and physician, see ILE I, 82 10 15.

nobilissime, et D[omino] Decano, si res feret, a me salutem dicito. Lugduni Bat[avorum], V. Idus Maias. I[ustus] Lipsius.

- A Berchemio accepi litteras, quibus adiunctae Palmerianae notae in Tacitum, e secundo Spicilegio quod parabat. Sed vere tibi dico, notae non  
 15 ad palmam. Videbis et in multis ridebis subtile illud acumen, cum ludi-  
 brio veterum scriptorum.

[Address:] Nobilissimo viro, Iano Douzae a Nortwijck.

12 I[ustus] Lipsius: *om. c, d<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>*      13 Iano Douzae S[alutem] Dico *rep. c, d<sub>2</sub> ante A*  
 Berchemio      14-15 Sed ... palmam: *om. c, d<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>*

11 D[omino] Decano] Scil. Lambertus vander Burch (1542-1617), dean of the Utrecht Sinte-Marie chapter (1578-1582), on whom see ILE I, 81 03 15, 22.

13 Berchemio] On Hieronymus van Berchem (+ 1597), see ILE I, 76 10 13. See also Jeannine De Landtsheer, 'Three Overlooked Letters of Lipsius (1547-1606) in ms. Lips. 5 of Leiden University Library', *Lias*, 23 (1999), 145-155. He matriculated at Leuven University in October 1555, cf. A. Schillings (ed.), *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, Académie royale de Belgique. Commission royale d'histoire. Publications in 4, [32] Collection de chroniques belges inédites, 17 vols (Brussels: Kiessling, 1903-1980), IV, 523, 52.

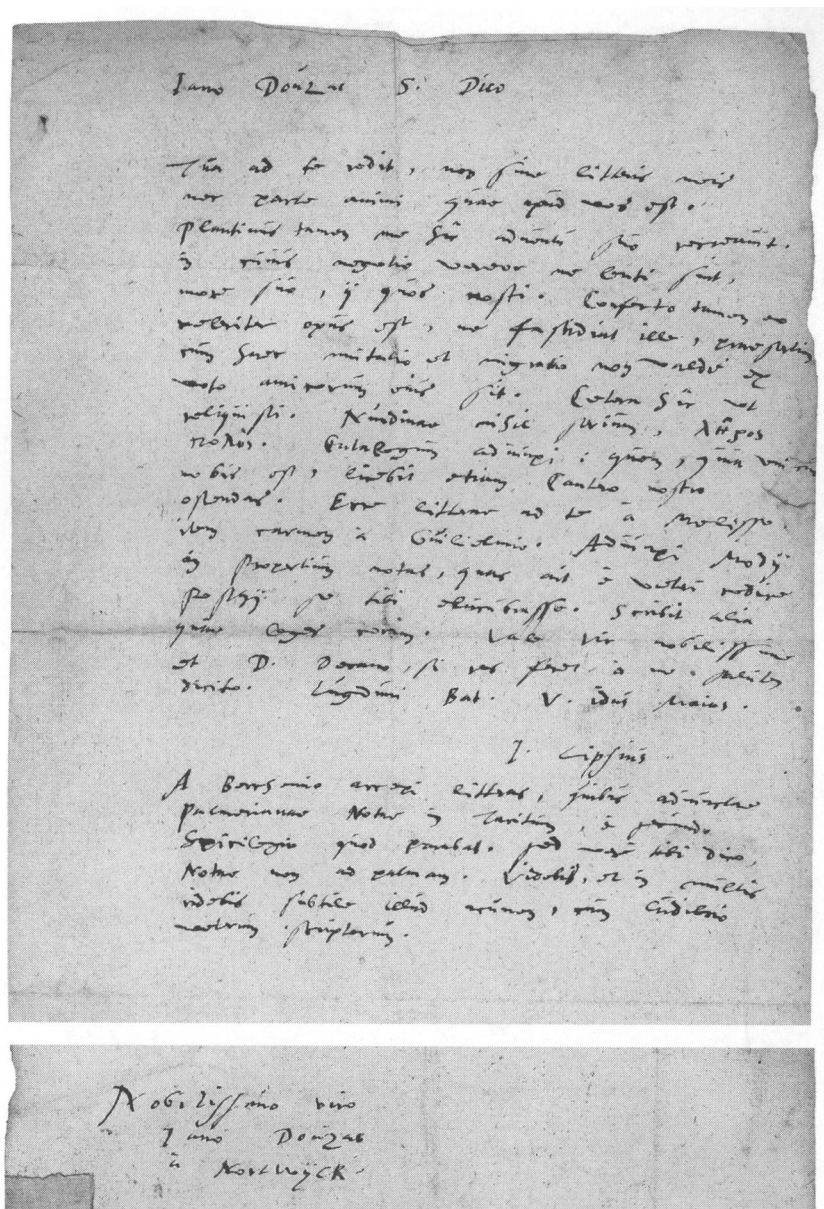
13 Palmerianae notae] Scil. annotations from Janus Mellerus Palmerius (Palmier). We have next to no information on him. He was born in Bruges and some of his poems were published in Janus Gruterus, *Delitiae C. poetarum Belgicorum* (Frankfurt am Main: Nicolaus Hoffmann, sumptibus Jacobi Fischeri, 1614). See also Abraham Jacob Van Der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 7 vols (Amsterdam: Israël, 1969 [1852-1878]), VI, 21; Petrus Hofmann Peerlkamp, *Liber de vita, doctrina et facultate Nederlandorum qui carmina Latina composuerunt* (Leiden: Hazenberg 1843), p. 125; Aloïs Gerlo – Hendrik Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas: avec un répertoire bibliographique des humanistes et poètes néo-latins*, Instrumenta Humanistica, 3 (Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1972), p. 420 and Herbert Mayow Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600*, in *Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1967), P117. The aforementioned Janus Guilielmus, who greatly appreciated Palmerius (cf. ILE II, 84 01 08 G), wrote a string of funeral poetry for him, which was later published in the anthology *Poematum Jani Lernuti, Jani Gulielmi, Valentis Acidali, nova editio* (Liegnitz: Impensis Davidis Alberti, 1603). These *Manes Palmeriani* were dedicated to Hieronymus van Berchem. Together with numerous references to Lipsius, Melissus, Modius and Posthius in other poems of the anthology, they show that these men formed an intimate circle of friends.

14 secundo Spicilegio] ILE I, 80 00 00 refers to Palmerius's *Spicilegiorum commentarius primus* (Frankfurt: G. Corvinus – S. Feyerabend, 1580), a book mentioned in Lipsius's library catalogue (Leiden University Library, ms. Lips. 59, f. 9v, book 31). Apparently Palmerius intended to publish a sequel. Nevertheless, it seems that nothing of the kind ever appeared in print. The aforementioned 1603 *Poemata* edition contains a poem *In Spicilegium Jani Melleri Palmeri* (pp. 80-82) and *In libros Spicilegiorum Posthumos* (pp. 128-129).

15 ad palmam] Pun at the name of Palmerius: *palmam ferre*, cf. Erasm., *Adag.*, 1, 3, 4.

Sal.  
 Dignis est Tacitus, cum ore eloquentis, & hispanis. no. lectionibus  
 modo suis. sed suis si nihil, & commentis illustrare: quod  
 adhibita sine iustitiam, quae obvia, videntur, quibus  
 in lectione perant, famulorum magis addant. Quae  
 adhibet profusa in eis scriptum ab eis suis: sicut, & uideri  
 & idem ore confirmatur: si huius explanationum, hanc  
 accipere, quis suas agitationes improbe, quid reliquum  
 in Tacito hactenus: quod no falsi emiger, lectionum  
 etiam ista: Vnde mihi reddi. huius, accomodare no  
 consilio, ac si quis de mirabilis consilio capitis, &  
 lectionum. Tamen id autem bene fieri: An  
 Plinius copulandi ad eam mentem, quod nuncupat  
 uarietatem libri Valsi marginis, & aliunde uicinas alige  
 lectiones, ut non coram, miseream. Propono  
 nil me suauiter. Si itaq; ea ab Plinio in Tacito  
 uideri, notationem non accipit: inquis nunc non  
 illis fide, in sponte. officio debito. Si perit  
 pios, ut fac in uerba carum, ut illi ait, hincorump  
 fac me cariorum. Vnde est, quod principes ab eis multis  
 offit. uolui: ut, Vitruuius memores, de Volam me  
 eptae sanon quaeq; magis impetus uelutiq; in me  
 componere: addet unde accipi: quod Andros  
 uideri. Vir o; abgenti: solo nobili, latius in totis  
 disposita: alibi, ut idem eptae de solis uitas  
 an Camorij multas in uim huiusq; producer  
 aut uoluit: si me amas. Vale et Maj.  
 Vnde Dr.  
 J. J. Sambucus

Ill. 1: Waller Ms hu-00068: Johannes Sambucus to Lipsius (1 May 1582),  
 source: [http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller\\_Ms\\_hu/00068/f\\_001a.jpg](http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller_Ms_hu/00068/f_001a.jpg) —  
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Ill. 2: Waller Ms benl-00496: Lipsius to Janus Douza (11 May [1583]),  
 source: [http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller\\_Ms\\_benl/00496/f\\_001a.jpg](http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller_Ms_benl/00496/f_001a.jpg) and  
[http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller\\_Ms\\_benl/00496/f\\_001b.jpg](http://waller.uu.se/images/Waller_Ms_benl/00496/f_001b.jpg) —  
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Paul R. SELLIN

SOURCES, MIMESIS AND WAR:  
DANIEL HEINSIUS' *AD COGNOMINEM MEUM HEINSIUM  
JURISCONSULTUM, E PEREGRINATIONE REDUCEM* AND  
JOHN DONNE'S *ELEGY MAKING MEN*

Γοργίας δὲ τὴν τραγωδίαν εἶπεν ἀπάτην,  
ἦν ὃ τ' ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατήσαντος  
καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατηθέντος.<sup>1</sup>  
(Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1, 2, 15D)

The following argument compares two seemingly unrelated poems from the turn of the seventeenth century by poets with no known relationship to one another aside from the accident of their chronology. One is by the famous Dutch Neo-Latin *princeps poetarum* at Leiden University, Daniel Heinsius; the other, by the renowned, so-called English 'Metaphysical' poet John Donne — like William Shakespeare or Ben Jonson, a product of the golden age of Queen Elizabeth at its height.

The issue is biographical truth in lyric poetry and the methodology of dealing with mimetic fictions as distinct from occasional poetry in the early Seventeenth Century, whether Neo-Latin or vernacular. May we, should we take utterances that such poets put in the mouth of their characters as valid clues to their actual life and attitudes, as a number of 'biographical' critics of Donne such as Ilona Bell or Richard Strier seem to urge? But a generation later, John Milton, the great Puritan poet of the English revolution, severely reprimanded his Huguenot co-Religionist Claudius Salmasius (the star Reformed scholar at Leiden, co-opted by Charles II to defend the Royalist cause) for misusing dramatic monologue

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Heinsius as 'Tragoediam fallaciam, qua qui deciperet, iustior eo quo non deciperet, qui deciperetur, sapientior eo qui non deciperetur, esset' in 'Oratio VIII. De utilitate, que e lectione Tragoediarum percipitur', in Daniel Heinsius, *Orationes: nunc primum omnes simul, nonnullae etiam nunc primum editae* (Leiden: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium, 1619), p. 118 (mispaginated). That is, 'Tragedy is guile in which the beguiled is more righteous than the un-beguiled, and the beguiler wiser than the non-beguiler'.

from Aeschylus's *The Suppliants*, as though propositions declaimed by a *persona* on stage necessarily represented the tragedian's personal opinions on kingship.<sup>2</sup>

First, I present the earliest version (1602) of Heinsius' poem<sup>3</sup>, together with an original translation:

AD COGNOMINEM MEUM HEINSIUM IURISCONSULTUM,  
E PEREGRINATIONE REDUCEM

- Ergone tam dulces potuisti linquere terras,  
In Batavosque, Heinsi, nostraque regna vehi?  
Hactenus in nostris potuisti haerere pruinis,  
Nec tua mitis adhuc pectora flexit amor?  
5 Livia iam maestis lachrymam distillat ocellis,  
Et queritur fluxam, sola relictam, fidem.  
Dinumerat cunctas miseranda ex ordine noctes,  
Dinumerat cunctos, ut solet, illa dies.  
Forsitan et pontum lachrymans prospectat et undas,  
10 Quotque videt puppes, tot putat esse tuas.  
Et modo crudeles causatur nescia ventos,  
Et modo turbatas nescia culpat aquas,  
Multaque de Batavis toties rogat illa puellis:  
Scilicet an placidas gens ferat illa Deas.  
15 Et timet infelix, alio ne saucius igne  
In Batavis certos fixerit ille lares.  
Blanda Venus, quantis iactatur pallida curis!  
Blanda Venus, quantus pectora versat amor!  
Et modo rumorem populi scrutatur, et horret,  
20 Perfidiaeque omnes arguit illa viros.

<sup>2</sup> *The Works of John Milton*, ed. by Frank Allen Patterson e.a., 18 vols in 21 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-1938), VII, 307-11.

<sup>3</sup> In Heinsius' *Auriacus, sive libertas saucia. Accedunt eiusdem Iambi partim morales, partim ad amicos, partim amicorum causa scripti* (Leiden: Apud Andream Cloucqium, 1602), pp. 140-143. In 1602, the title read 'Ad cognominem meum Heinsium Iurisconsultum, e peregrinatione reducem'. In *Danielis Heinsii Poematum editio nova, longe auctior. Editore Nicolao Heinsio, Danielis filio* (Leiden – Amsterdam: ex officina Ioannis Ianssonii, 1649) the title changed to 'Elegia II. Ad Nicolaum Heinsium e Gallia reducem' (*Elegiarum Iuvenilium Liber II*, p. 465). In 1602 Heinsius evidently could readily assume his audience knew who Nicolaas was, where he came from, the context of the war, and the circumstances of his return. In the editions of 1640 and 1649, between forty and fifty years later — the latter a year after the Peace of Westphalia, which marked the end of the Eighty Years' War — his son and he reworked the poem substantially. Evidently thinking certain topicalities in the original outmoded, they added the Christian name and land of exile to the title but omitted mention of his degree in jurisprudence.



TO MY PATERNAL NAMESAKE [NICHOLAS] HEINSIUS,  
ESQUIRE, COME BACK FROM EXILE [IN FRANCE]

- So, then, you've been able to turn your back on sweet lands,  
     Heinsius, and return to us and Dutch sway?  
 Up to now, been able to stand our frosty clime?  
     Mild love not yet softened your stern soul?
- 5 Even now tears fall from your Livia's woeful eyes  
     And, all alone, she bewails your loose troth.  
 Poor girl, she counts all the nights, one by one,  
     Counts, as she's wont, one by one the days.  
 Perhaps as she weeps, she scans in hope the sea and waves,
- 10 And when she spies a mast, thinks it yours.  
 Unsure, she sometimes uses the cruel winds to excuse you,  
     Unsure, she sometimes blames the rough seas,  
 And she wonders as often about Dutch girls too —  
     That people brings forth gentle goddesses?
- 15 Unhappy she, fearing lest, smitten by a glow of new passion,  
     He's staked down a Batavian household.  
 Pretty Venus, pale, by how many cares cast down!  
     Pretty Venus, how Love does trouble hearts!  
 Sometimes too she sifts the gossip, and shivers,
- 20 And accuses all men of perfidy.

- Ah quoties ventos vaga captat, et aera cernens  
 Num faveat votis, consulit, aura suis.  
 Tu procul horrentem percurris frigore Rhenum,  
 Et nimio vinctas flamine tundis aquas.
- 25 Hic ubi turba levis tenerum glomeratur amantum,  
 Et sequitur faciles iuncta puella viros.  
 Hei mihi, si nescis, media Venus errat in unda,  
 Materies culpa quot dabit illa tuae!  
 Aspicias dulces celeri pede currere Nymphas,  
 30 Et cupies, placidas iungere posse manus.  
 Ah miser, ah, hic dum pedibus talaria nectes,  
 Officii precium basia bina feres:  
 Interea lentas queritur tua Livia noctes,  
 Et nimium tardos pergere solis equos.
- 35 Scilicet ignorat Batavas tua Livia lymphas,  
 Ut Venus in mediis aurea regnet aquis.  
 Ah, tibi cor circum glacies tenet! ah tibi pectus  
 Quae Batavum vinxit flumina, vinxit hyems.  
 Hei mihi, si nec te lachrymae tenuare, nec illa  
 40 Brachia, quae collo succubere tuo.  
 Ferree, si nec te gemitusque, leuesque susurri,  
 Quaeque feros poterant tangere verba Deos,  
 Cum male turbato nimiis singultibus ore  
 Defuit in voces ultima lingua suas.
- 45 Cum tibi pro verbis, tepido modo basia vultu  
 Solvit, in amplexus tota soluta tuos.  
 Languida cum maestos genitrix vix sisteret imbres,  
 Adderet et: reducem iam feret ille pedem.  
 Ille pedem referet, media qui fixus in aula  
 50 Nassoviosque enses, et vaga signa gerit.  
 Iupiter, ut cuncti potius pereatis amantes  
 Quam lachrymas fundat una puella suas!  
 Scilicet, hic ardes patrios reparare triumphos,  
 Utque tibi victus cedere discat Iber.
- 55 Interea blandus Veneris languescat ut ardor,  
 Eque tuo dulcis pectore cedat amor.  
 Falleris. ardentem sequitur Venus aurea Martem,  
 Ah nimium Martem diligit illa suum.

- O, how she strives to catch the wind, search the clouds,  
 Wondering if the breezes favor her desires.  
 Far away, you glide swiftly over the cold-hardened Rhine  
 With firm strokes upon waters congealed by icy blasts.
- 25 Here, where light-minded throngs of lovers gather,  
 And the next girl pursues affable men,  
 Woe, if you know not, Venus wanders amidst the bustle.  
 She'll provide as much occasion for unchastity  
 As you ogle charming Nymphs coursing on swift foot
- 30 And long to clasp their gracious hands!  
 O, wretch, O, while you lace the blades<sup>4</sup> upon their feet  
 And pairs of kisses reward you,  
 Your Livia bewails the nights that drag along  
 And sun steeds that course too slowly.
- 35 To be sure, your Livia knows naught of Dutch water nymphs,  
 How, in our aqueous land, Venus may reign golden.  
 O, there's ice in your heart! O, the winter's cold,  
 That froze our Dutch rivers, has conquered your breast.  
 Woe to me, if neither her tears stopped you, nor those arms,
- 40 That couldn't resist clasping you by your neck.  
 Hard hearted you — if sighs, light whispers and words  
 That would move savage Gods, didn't touch you,  
 When, her mouth distorted with excessive sobbing,  
 The last sound failing in her words;
- 45 When, wholly melted by tears in your embrace, she aimed kisses  
 At your face, instead of words;  
 When, exhausted after floods of almost unbearable weeping,  
 Her mother says, 'He'll soon be back.'  
 Him coming back — this warrior, planted firmly at court,
- 50 Who wields swords, and waves flags for Nassau?  
 Good heavens! Better that all you lovers perish than even  
 One girl should have to shed copious tears.  
 To be sure, you long to win triumphant victories for our land,  
 And have the vanquished Spaniard yield to you,
- 55 Thinking that meanwhile, as Venus' pleasant flame dies down,  
 Sweet love'll likewise fade from your heart.  
 You err! Golden Venus hunts after burning Mars,  
 O, she dearly loves her Mars, overly so,

<sup>4</sup> I agree with Frans Steyaert, *Daniel Heinsius: Polyhistor, dichter, en poeta uit de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw* (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven: Unpublished Lic. Thesis, 1970), pp. 368-369, that this Latin passage alludes to skating parties. For illustrations of contemporary blades and bindings, see the engraving accompanying emblem number 20 ('In lubrico'), Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poëmata. Faksimiledruck nach der Erstaussgabe von 1616*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Berlin and Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1979), p. 78.

- Illa solet tristes ulcisci militis ausus,  
60     Quique parat victor laedere, victus abit.  
      Dii faciant densum quoties prorumpis in agmen  
      Hic subeant oculi Livia pulchra tui.  
      Hic subeant lachrymaeque, et inania basia, voxque,  
      Hic subeant agiles in tua colla manus.  
65    Hic subeat, qualis lepidos cum flexit ocellos  
      Corda tibi dulcis mollia flexit amor.  
      Ah miser, ah cedes placido summissus amori,  
      Et fluet e digitis ensis et hasta tuis.  
      Nec poteris flexas pavidus versare catervas,  
70    Nec poterunt faciles, ut prius, ire manus.  
      Protenus occurret tua Gallia, spesque, fidesque:  
      Nec tibi quid vocis, nec tibi mentis erit.  
      I licet, ardentem galea circumdare vultum,  
      Terribilisque alto vertice surgat apex.  
75    Cristaque summa levi circum tremat horrida vento,  
      Et subeat nutus tota Medusa tuos,  
      Nos Veneris pia gens faciles sectemur amores,  
      Et gremium dominae, sint mea castra, meae.  
      Hic ego versatos contemnam fortiter enses,  
80    Missaque quae fuerint omnia tela, feram.  
      Diva Venus, Venerisque leves faveatis Amores,  
      Haec series vitae tota futura meae est,  
      Osculaque, et mites obliquo lumine risus.  
      Invideant somnis classica torua tuis,  
85    Me volucrum lenes suadebit inire sopores  
      Murmur, et in viridem serpere coget humum.  
      Rura colam, Rossaeque genas; sic alter et alter  
      Heynsius arma feret, Heynsius arva seret.

- Her way's to take revenge on grave soldiers' harsh adventuring,  
 60 And the would-be vanquisher ends up vanquished.  
 God grant, whenever you charge a battle line in close array,  
 Beauteous Livia's eyes go on the attack,  
 Her tears, and silly kisses, and voice assault you too,  
 Her nimble troop of hands subdue your neck.  
 65 May Love assail you, when she looks with charming eye,  
 Darting a glance such as turned your heart soft.  
 O undone fellow, O you'll give in, turn slave to gentle love,  
 And sword and pike will drop from your fingers.  
 Nor, pale with fear, will you be able to rally your altered troops,  
 70 Nor your softened powers march as before.  
 Forthwith your France, and hope and troth'll come oppose you —  
 You'll be speechless, lose your will.  
 Well, then, go! Go and enclose your fiery visage in your helm,  
 Let its frightful comb, with lofty peak, rise up,  
 75 Tall, surpassing plume shake fearsomely in the breeze,  
 And let a horrid Medusa assail your resolve<sup>5</sup>,  
 We dutiful thralls of Venus, let us pursue gentle loves,  
 And let the bosom of my mistress be my camp.  
 Here I shall scorn swords slashing every which way,  
 80 And endure all flying spears and cannon balls.  
 Holy Venus, and Venus' light Loves, prithee favor me,  
 This way of life is my whole tomorrow:  
 Little kisses, and soft laughter amid sidelong glances.  
 Let harsh trumpets of war cost you your sleep,  
 85 Me the murmuring of birds shall lull into peaceful slumber,  
 And prompt me to recline on verdant grass.  
 Meads let me tend, and Rossa's cheeks: For so, in turn,  
 One Heyns takes the field, th'other Heyns sows the seed.

In this seeming verse epistle, addressed around 1601 to a paternal relative supposedly called Nicolaas<sup>6</sup>, Heinsius poses as vehemently reproaching a presumably close kinsman for abandoning a lovely, cherishing betrothed in France, in order resolutely to return to his homeland and join the victorious Dutch army and its new Captain General, Count Maurits of Oranje-Nassau, in ousting the Spanish oppressor (lines 49-50). Join the war? No. Twenty-one year old Daniel entertains superior values (lines 77-88). He chooses love and *luxuria* over hard battle; scattering his seed upon ready plough-land matches service in the field.

<sup>5</sup> A favorite decorative motif on expensive arms and armor at the time.

<sup>6</sup> 'Nicolaas' was also the name of Daniel's father, and Daniel named his son 'Nicolaas' as well. Cf. Steyaert, *Daniel Heinsius*, p. 362.

Verse like this of course sends over-eager Neo-Latinists off on long hunts through the Roman elegists and rhetoricians for sources and analogues.<sup>7</sup> However valuable and enriching such inquiries may be for appreciating verse technique, quality of Latin, and history of the language, learnedly negotiating mazes of inter-textuality won't do much for capturing the fine charm of *Ad cognominem*, let alone the poetic excellence behind its entelechy. More to the point here, since the poem pretends to be a verse epistle, even as learned a commentator on Heinsius as Georg Ellinger seems to have taken its voice as literally the author's, drawing inferences such as Heinsius did not really care about the war against the Spain, or that lines 77-80 actually express the poet's personal ideals.<sup>8</sup>

True, Daniel was a young academic who never went to war. Yet the facts of his life so contradict the purportedly autobiographical statements of *Ad cognominem* that it seems patently inconceivable that he was indifferent or ambivalent about the fate of the Dutch revolt. A scion of Calvinist refugees who as a babe escaped from the Spanish investment of Ghent, he identified himself throughout his whole life in the northern Netherlands as a Fleming rooted in antipathy towards the Iberian oppressors and their worship.<sup>9</sup> The siege of Oostende moved him strongly, so much so that not only did he produce a number of poems commemorating Dutch heroics there, but he actually traveled to the city, as did other civilians, curiously enough, in order to feel what the experience of combat was like at first hand. Indeed, one of the many famous imperial assaults on the fortifications or a sudden, terrible bombardment evidently caused him to flee in panic, in his haste leaving behind in an inn a sheaf of verse on the siege, some of which a friend and fellow poet retrieved and later published.<sup>10</sup>

Far from trivializing, let alone contemning, the military actions in which his countrymen were dying in no small numbers, his early Latin poems and epigrams amply celebrated Dutch military exploits on land and sea,

<sup>7</sup> Steyaert, *Daniel Heinsius*, p. 365.

<sup>8</sup> Georg Ellinger, *Geschichte der neulateinischen Lyrik in den Niederlanden vom Ausgang des fünfzehnten bis zum Beginn des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1933), p. 174, did not quote the original text of 1602 but says, p. 172, he used the 1603 version. Cf. p. 176 also; Steyaert, *Daniel Heinsius*, pp. 196-211 *et passim*; and note 3 above.

<sup>9</sup> Paul R. Sellin, 'The First Collection of Dutch Love Emblems: The Identity of Theocritus à Ganda', *The Modern Language Review*, 66 (1971), 334-335.

<sup>10</sup> Anna E. C. Simoni, *The Ostend Story: Early Tales of the Great Siege and the Mediating Role of Henrick van Haestens* ('t Goy-Houten: Hes and De Graaf, 2003), pp. 116-122.

particularly those of Count Maurits, their astonishingly successful young leader.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, as a pioneer in developing baroque verse in Germanic vernaculars<sup>12</sup>, Heinsius is famous for being the first great Netherlands humanist to stir up hispanophobic patriotism with lines in the vernacular that still resonate in Dutch hearts today.<sup>13</sup> Even as late as the last edition of his study of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1643), he reminded readers of his early view of Spain as outrageously laying claim to the whole 'world'.<sup>14</sup> Above all, *Ad cognominem* forms part of a most serious work: namely, Daniel's *Auriacus* of 1602<sup>15</sup>, a very well received and influential Neo-Latin tragedy commemorating the assassination of Maurits' revered father, William the Silent, Prince of Orange. That is, the drama precedes a small collection (pp. 89-141) of 'Iambi partim morales, partim ad amicos, partim amicorum causa scripti', which are replete with homage to Janus Dousa, the commander who famously kept Leiden from falling into Spanish hands. *Ad cognominem* is placed as the very last of this chain of poems, and it closes a work that otherwise bristles with overt patriotism.<sup>16</sup>

Far from scoffing at the Dutch revolt, then, Daniel's verse epistle is designed as a piece of epideictic rhetoric that celebrates the upright *ethos*

<sup>11</sup> E.g., his remarks on Maurits in the preface, introduction and verses in *Auriacus, passim*; the epigram on Maurits' arms in Henry Haestens, *La Nouvelle Troye ou memorable histoire du siege d'Ostende le plus signalé qu'on ait veu en l'Europe. En laquelle sont descripts & naïvement représentés en diverses figures, les assauts, deffenses, inventions de guerre, mines, contremines, retranchemens, combats par terre & par mer, & autres choses remarquables advenues de part & d'autre, avec ce qui s'est passé par chascun jour durant ledit siege depuis le 5 Iuing 1601 iusqu'au 20 Septemb. 1604 qu'elle fut renduë. Recoeuillie de plus asseurés memoires* (Leiden: Chez Louys Elzevier, 1615), p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poëmata*, pp. 23-27; Heinsius, *On Plot in Tragedy*, trans. by Paul R. Sellin and John McManmon, with Introduction and Notes by Paul R. Sellin (Northridge, California: State University Northridge, 1971), pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., 'Op de doot ende treffelicke victorie van de mannelicken helt Iacob Heemskerck, Admiraal, begraven binnen Amsterdam', lines 99-102 (Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poëmata*, p. 6.):

De vogel is alleen geboren om te snijden  
Met vleugelen de locht, de peerden om te rijden,  
De muylen om het pack te dragen, of de lijn  
Te trecken met den hals, en wy om vry te sijn.

Cf. 'Einleitung', in Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poëmata*, pp. 43-50.

<sup>14</sup> Heinsius, *On Plot in Tragedy*, p. 121.

<sup>15</sup> Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England* (Leiden and Oxford: Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1968), 'Checklist', number 65.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Jan Bloemendal, *Daniel Heinsius: Auriacus, sive Libertas saucia (1602). Editie met vertaling, inleiding en commentaar*, 2 vols. (Voorthuizen: Florivallis, 1997), I, 69-71, 199-203.

of his Flemish namesake. Daniel's title implies that, as a *iurisconsultus*, Nicolaas was a well educated professional who has chosen to abandon good, safe life in France as a Flemish refugee in order to help drive the Papist foe from their beloved homeland.<sup>17</sup> Drawing on lines 54-55, one infers that Nicolaas arrived in the northern Netherlands during the winter immediately following Maurits' triumph of 1600 outside Nieuwpoort in Flanders. This famous battle was about the first complete rout of a large Spanish army in the field, in which the Dutch did take, as Nicolaas supposedly hopes to do, a large number of captives with high ransom-value.<sup>18</sup> Presumably moved by the success at Nieuwpoort, the Dutch rebels' greatest triumph on land hitherto, Nicolaas' intent is to enlist in the defense of Oostende, to which Archduke Albert, the ruler of the southern provinces of the Netherlands, had begun laying siege in July, 1601, as part of the same campaign.

Volunteering for such service asked courage indeed, for by the time the Dutch finally had to relinquish the city in September, 1604, they were reduced to using — as lines 13-14 of Heinsius' 'Op het belech van

<sup>17</sup> Citing no evidence, Ellinger, *Geschichte*, p. 174, took Nicolaas for Daniel's brother. Nicolaas might well have been a cousin. However, neither Steyaert (*Daniel Heinsius*, p. 362) nor I have any information about this Franco-Flemish namesake. My guess is that (if there is any reality to this verse epistle at all) like Heinsius, whose parents fled Ghent for England and then Zeeland shortly after 1580 in order to escape Spanish persecution, Nicolaas stemmed from a branch of the family that sought haven, as many Belgian refugees did, in Huguenot France rather than in Britain, Germany, or the Dutch republic. Old enough to have attained a degree in jurisprudence, yet still young enough to seek his fortune on the battlefield, he has evidently decided to leave kith, loves, and kin for the Netherlands wars, which, as the battle of Nieuwpoort showed the year before, the Dutch were beginning to win even in pitched fighting on land. Anticipating the spring musters, he evidently fetched up in the midst of winter at The Hague and Delft, possibly soliciting preferment as a soldier in the court of Count Maurits of Nassau, Stadholder of Holland and Captain-General of the Army of the States General. Heinsius' allusion to the plumed helmet seems to imply that, like Daniel (whose mother, father, and uncle belonged to the regent class in the pre-revolt administration of Ghent and Flanders), Nicolaas enjoyed gentle birth and good education, had ample resources to obtain armor and arms, and that as a consequence sought and received some sort of quasi-aristocratic command as an ensign (cf. lines 49-50). There is no mention of him in Frederik J. G. Ten Raa and François de Bas, *Het Staatsche Leger 1568-1795* (Breda: De Koninklijke Militaire Academie, 1911-), II, 'index'. Of course if he did not hold a rank of at least captain or higher, he was unlikely to be named, as is also the case with respect to various surviving manuscript 'Staten van Oorlog' in *Het Nationaal Archief*, The Hague, and elsewhere, which very seldom list any officer less than a captain.

<sup>18</sup> Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, pp. 24-[55], lists some 235 prisoners of rank; Ten Raa — de Bas, *Staatsche Leger*, II, 58, put the figure at 600.



Oostende' show he well knew<sup>19</sup> — corpses of the fallen to build fortifications.<sup>20</sup> One contemporary estimated total dead at 76,961, not counting injured, wounded who died later, or civilian casualties; another placed losses of the *besiegers* at 60,000 men in the last nine months alone. Aiming to highlight the nobility of patriots like Nicolaas, Daniel's device in *Ad cognominem* was to posture as an effeminate lover (in the heterosexual Renaissance sense), berating soldierly ambition for setting aside with Roman manliness private concerns in order to hazard life and limb in bloody operations like Oostende. The voice in the poem is mimetic, ironic words portraying the railer not as Daniel was in life, but as a fictive *ethos*, a cowardly shirker rationalizing his ignoble preference to stay home and make love, not war. 'Speak, that I may see thee', as Jonson, a painstaking translator of Heinsius<sup>21</sup>, once put it. The thematic device of the poem as well as the technique of impersonation is patently that of the Horatian satire that Daniel so esteemed:<sup>22</sup> namely, Define and compliment virtue, in this case virile patriotism, by dramatic exposure to its opposite. In effect, the poem is a recruiting poster in reverse.

A headnote to the original confirms this hypothesis (*Auriacus*, p. 140). Lest 'magistri semper, aut Catones videamur', Heinsius says, he decided to relieve the heavy seriousness that characterizes the rest of the volume and add *Ad cognominem* to the *Iambi*. However, the purpose of such levity, so he states explicitly, was 'ita tamen ut in ea quoque Batavorum, ac prasertim moris illius quem hac hyeme toties vidimus' — i. e., commemorate the Dutch too and especially their brave character during the winter of 1601/02. Yet not, he cautions, in such wise that this foretaste of his witty elegies forthcoming should ruin the otherwise serious *gustus* ('mood') of the rest of the collection.<sup>23</sup> Oostende was the Stalingrad of

<sup>19</sup> Heinsius, *Nederduytsche poëmata*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>20</sup> Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, p. 272; cf. 'Ostenda loquitur', in *De dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius: Oorspronkelijke dichtwerken. Tweede deel, pars 3 A en B*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), pp. 26-27; Simoni, *The Ostend Story*, pp. 118-19.

<sup>21</sup> Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius*, pp. 147-153.

<sup>22</sup> Regarding Horatian satire and its techniques, particularly impersonation, see 'Danielis Heinsii de satyra Horatiana', in *Quintus Horatius Flaccus. Accedunt nunc Danielis Heinsii de satyra Horatiana libri duo* (Leiden: ex officina Elzeviriana, 1629), pp. 54-83, 96-107, 120-123, 197-199, 204-205, 219-220, 226, *et passim*. For his editions of Horace, see Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius*, 'Checklist', nos. 236-257.

<sup>23</sup> Heinsius, *Auriacus*, p. 140: 'adiungemus Elegiarum nostrarum aliquam, (...) ita tamen ut in ea quoque Batavorum, ac prasertim moris illius quem hac hyeme toties vidimus, fiat mentio, ne plane ἀπροσδιόνυστος [*sic*] sit hic, quem praebemus,ustus'. As Ellinger did not use the 1602 text, he was evidently unaware of the headnote. Without access to the 1603 version, it has not been possible to confirm the reading as Ellinger

the age, a siege, as Hendrik van Haestens, the best of contemporary chroniclers, put it in 1615,

qui ne cede a nul de l'antiquité, & excède de beaucoup tous ceux de nostre temps. Ouy mesmes ces renommés de Troie & de Veges (...) semblent esbats & jeux d'enfants, aux prix des virils & magnanimes combats de ces-tuicy. Iamais place n'a esté plus obstinement & chaudement attaquée; iamais plus courageusement & bravement deffendue: iamais lieu n'a esté signalé de tant de tragiques evenements, d'ingenieux stratagemes, d'inventions admirables, de pertes remarcables & d'heroiques & glorieux exploits d'une part & d'autre.<sup>24</sup>

Behind the light touch in Heinsius' poem, thus, looms the terrible hell visited upon thousands of besieged and besiegers alike, particularly during the first massive attempt on January 7 to take the town by storm and the vicious hand-to-hand combat that blunted it. As contemporaries such as Dousa certainly understood, *Ad cognominem* is at heart an exceedingly serious poem extolling the heroics and sacrifices of men like Nicolaas and Dousa that winning a real, long, and dreadful war for freedom and independence from tyranny necessitates.

Next, John Donne's popular 'erotic' elegy *Making Men*, variously dated between 1594 and the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603:<sup>25</sup>

Till I have peace with thee, warr other men,  
And when I have peace, can I leave thee then?  
All other wars are scrupulous; Only thou  
O fair free City, mayst thyselfe allow  
5 To any one. In Flanders, who can tell  
Whether the maister press, or men rebell?  
Only we know, that which all Ideots say,  
They bear most blows which come to part the fray.  
France in her Lunatic giddiness did hate  
10 Ever our men, yea and our God of late;  
Yet she relies upon our Angels well,  
Which nere return; No more than they which fell.  
Sick Ireland is with a strange warr possest  
Like unto an Ague, Now raging, now at rest,

quotes it. For bibliography of most editions of Heinsius' *Poemata* starting with the *Iambi* of 1602, see Sellin, *Daniel Heinsius*, 'Checklist', nos. 1-16, 65-67, 75, 80-81. Full collations and contents of each verified item in the *ur*-bibliography are accessible at the University Archives, Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

<sup>24</sup> Haestens' dedication, in *Nouvelle Troye*.

<sup>25</sup> *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, ed. Gary Stringer, 8 vols (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995-2005), II, 648-649.

- 15 Which time will cure. Yet it must do her good  
 If she weare purg'd, and her head vayne let blood.  
 And Midas' joys our Spanish journeys give,  
 We touch all gold, but find no food to live.  
 And I should be in that hott parching clime,
- 20 To dust and ashes turn'd before my time.  
 To mew me in a Ship, is to enthrall  
 Me in a prison, that weare like to fall;  
 Or in a Cloister, save that ther men dwell  
 In a calme heaven, here in a swaggering hell.
- 25 Long Voyages are long consumptions,  
 And Ships are carts for executions.  
 Yea they are Deaths; ist not all one to fly  
 Into another World, as t'is to dy?  
 Here let me warr; in these armes let me ly;
- 30 Here let me parle, batter, bleede, and dy.  
 Thy armes imprison me, and myne armes thee,  
 Thy hart thy ransome is, take myne for mee.  
 Other men war that they their rest may gayne,  
 But we will rest that we may fight agayne.
- 35 Those warrs th'ignorant, these th'experience'd love,  
 There we are allwayes under, here above.  
 There Engines farr off breed a just trew feare,  
 Neere thrusts, pikes, stabs, yea bullets hurt not here.  
 There lyes are wrongs; here safe uprightly ly;
- 40 There men kill men, we'll make one by and by.  
 Thou nothing; I not halfe so much shall do  
 In those warrs, as they may which from us two  
 Shall spring. Thousands we see which travaile not  
 To warrs, but stay swords, armes, and shott
- 45 To make at home; And shall not I do then  
 More glorious service, staying to make men? <sup>26</sup>

As one can readily see, the words and values expressed in this dramatic monologue present very much the same ignoble shirker that inhabits the last section of *Ad cognominem*. Scholars ransacking Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius have plucked but meager fruit in the way of appreciation<sup>27</sup>, sometimes dismissing *Making Men* as simply 'an exercise

<sup>26</sup> Donne, *The Variorum Edition*, II, 142-143.

<sup>27</sup> Roma Gill, 'Musa Iocosa Mea: Thoughts on the Elegies', in *John Donne: Essays in Celebration*, ed. by Albert J. Smith (London: Methuen, 1972), pp. 47-72 (pp. 55-59); James B. Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit: An Analytical and Comparative Study of the Poetry of John Donne* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1951), pp. 71-73; Vinode Narain Sinha, *John Donne: A Study of His Dramatic Imagination* (New Delhi: Bhargawa at the Caxton Press, 1977), p. 98.

on a theme' popular with Roman elegists<sup>28</sup>, 'slavish following of a convention which, (...) becomes tedious imitation'<sup>29</sup> or uncreative 'recycling of an Ovidian motif'.<sup>30</sup> Worse still, among the surprisingly many critics who still read Renaissance mimetic poetry as if nineteenth century poetic autobiography, it has also prompted strange, wholly unsupported inferences, such as Donne served unwillingly on the Anglo-Dutch raid against the Azores 1597 because a fresh affair with a married woman popped in between;<sup>31</sup> found war not merely 'indifferent' but repellant or absurd;<sup>32</sup> actually believed licentious, fornicating lovers superior to soldiers holding the enemy at bay;<sup>33</sup> or lacked 'sympathy' for the Protestant cause in the Low Countries.<sup>34</sup>

However, *Making Men* contradicts known facts of the author's life even more flagrantly than *Ad cognominem* does Heinsius'. Donne *did* enlist as a volunteer in the Low Countries Wars, twice 'mew[ing]' himself in those very 'carts of execution' the poem calls ships to endure the 'long consumption' of 'Long Voyages' against Cádiz and the Azores in 1596 and 1597. Nor did he change his mind after taking Holy Orders, for what occupation did he all his life help and encourage his younger son George to follow but that of a highly successful professional soldier?<sup>35</sup> By March, 1602, his correspondence shows that he was chronicling in great detail the actions of the 'enemy' besiegers and the largely English-

<sup>28</sup> Roger E. Bennett, *The Complete Poems of John Donne* (Chicago: Packard, 1942), pp. xviii-xxix.

<sup>29</sup> Gill, 'Musa Iocosa Mea', pp. 59-60.

<sup>30</sup> Donald Mackenzie, 'Donne's Ovid: the *Elegies*', in *The Metaphysical Poets*, ed. by Michael Scott (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 67-70 (pp. 68-69).

<sup>31</sup> Edmund Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne Dean of St. Paul's*, 2 vols (New York and London: Dodd, Mead, 1893), I, 66-69; Leishman, *The Monarch of Wit*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>32</sup> Masood ul-Hasan, *Donne's Imagery* (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1958), p. 53; Timothy J. O'Keefe, 'Donne's "Love's Warre" and the Roman Elegists', in *Studies in English Literature and American Literature*, ed. John L. Cutler and Lawrence S. Thompson (Troy, New York: Whitston, 1978), pp. 87-93.

<sup>33</sup> Nancy J. C. Andreasen, *John Donne: Conservative Revolutionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 112-113; Mary Ann Radzinowicz, summarized in Donne, *The Variorum Edition*, p. 659; O'Keefe, 'Donne's "Love's Warre"', p. 89.

<sup>34</sup> Helen Gardner (ed.), *John Donne: The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 129.

<sup>35</sup> Paul R. Sellin, "'Soldiers of One Army': John Donne and the Army of the States General as an International Protestant Crossroads, 1595-1625", in *John Donne and the Protestant Reformation: New Perspectives*, ed. by Marcy Papazian (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), pp. 143-92 (pp. 183-184).

led besieged at Oostende.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, at that very time, he was once again considering military preferment abroad<sup>37</sup> — an opportune moment, as the garrison at Oostende<sup>38</sup> and another Anglo Dutch naval expedition then preparing against Spain stood in great need of hosts of English volunteers. Likewise around 1610, he also composed a verse epistle *To Sr. Edward Herbert. At Julyers*, lauding him for his martial ‘actions’ under Count Maurits and the States General at the siege of Gulik. Above all, when he set off on a peace mission to the continent in 1619, he had not the slightest ‘scruple’ whether ‘maister pres or men rebell’ in Flanders (lines 5-6) but publicly declared his sympathy for the rebel Dutch — for those lands, that is, ‘where’, he said, ‘ambition on one side, and a necessary defence from unjust persecution on the other side hath drawn many swords’.<sup>39</sup>

Given such blatant discrepancy between Donne’s life and the values the speaker in the poem expresses, it seems plain that *Making Men* is of a kind with Heinsius’ amusing, genteel fiction and seeks to work kindred ends through kindred technique.<sup>40</sup> Rather than constituting an empty exercise in witty inter-textuality or a quarry for atrocious biography, Donne’s elegy is based on the same sly Horatian theme on which Heinsius capitalized: Honor extraordinary valor by portraying a speaking eidolon of its ignoble opposite.

In short, Donne’s words amusingly impersonate another cowardly young man evading the same war in the Low Countries, in this case English. By daring to wonder why he too was not taking part in the grim struggle abroad to preserve Britain and the neonate Dutch republic, a remark of his very own mistress seems to have precipitated this amusing outburst of passion in justification of his capering in her chambers instead of joining the large contingents of valiant countrymen even then trailing

<sup>36</sup> Letters to Goodyer, [? March] and 1 March, 1601, Old (Julian) Style, quoted Sellin, “‘Souldiers of One Army’”, p. 185, note 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145 and note 1.

<sup>38</sup> On February 15, 1602, fifteen companies of reinforcements (ca. 2500-3000 men) were brought into the town under Col. William Edmond, commander of the first Scottish regiment. For good reason, as at that time, the besieging forces reportedly amounted to 12,000 foot and 700 cavalry (Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, pp. 214-215).

<sup>39</sup> Paul R. Sellin, *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1619-1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), p. 171.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Bennet, *Complete Poems of Donne*, pp. xxviii-xxix; Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), pp. 55-56; Murray Roston, *The Soul of Wit: A Study of John Donne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 88.

pikes in the Army of the States at Oostende and elsewhere in the Low Countries. Inasmuch as Donne's lover not only alludes directly to Flanders in the present tense but shudders (lines 37-38) at the notion of precisely such 'inventions de guerre' as the huge siege engines<sup>41</sup> and massed batteries, firing cannonades on unprecedented scale of 20-36 lb. 'bullets' indeed capable of much hurt from 'farr off'<sup>42</sup>, not to speak of the frightful hand-to-hand combat — 'Neere thrusts, pikes, stabs' — of the bloody frontal assaults and defensive sallies that made Oostende famous as a school of new war<sup>43</sup>, it seems clear that Donne, well steeped in the lore of this 'Second Troy', as it was called, deliberately profiled the values of his similarly effeminate slacker against the same backdrop of Oostende as Heinsius used in order to reflect glory by implication on the brave opposites who suffered there. The poem thus postdates the beginning of the siege in July, 1601<sup>44</sup>, and it is no accident artistically that the last distich of *Making Men* ends on much the same ironic conceit defending the indefensible with which Heinsius closed: Sweet licentiousness in base comfort at home, far preferable to noble combat, is good because it helps the war effort.

In short, both poems are designed to pillory the kind of Protestant 'atheism' against which related works such as Cyril Tourneur's *Atheists Tragedy* (himself once in Dutch service, Tourneur chose Oostende for his setting too) and Donne's *Satyre III: of Religion* rail vehemently.<sup>45</sup> In northern Renaissance 'love' elegies like those of Heinsius and Donne, the line between them and the 'Aristotelian' mimesis Horace utilized in his dramatic satire is very, very thin.<sup>46</sup> They have everything to do with

<sup>41</sup> Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, figures 12 and 13, between pp. 266-267.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, p. 237: 'boulets de fer, chacun poisant de 36. à 50. livres', 25,000 of which the besieged fired up to March, 1603; the besiegers supposedly 100,000.

<sup>43</sup> Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, p. 277; Ten Raa – de Bas, *Staatsche Leger*, II, 76-77.

<sup>44</sup> As the mere existence of a Latin poem such as *Ad cognominem* shows, datings based on intertextual similarities in vernacular poetry such as those in Hall or Guilpin (Donne, *The Variorum Edition*, II, 648-49) rest on the naive assumption that such authors are limited solely to writings in English or that Donne alone uttered such sentiments, whereas contemporary Neo-Latin poetry may be a rich, little worked quarry for such information regarding learned poets like Donne.

<sup>45</sup> Haestens, *Nouvelle Troye*, p. 277; Ten Raa – de Bas, *Staatsche Leger*, II, 76-77.

<sup>46</sup> Regarding Heinsius' 'Aristotelianization' of Horace, see Paul R. Sellin, 'The Contribution of Humanist Poetics in the Netherlands to Critical Theory in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991*, ed. Rhoda Schnur (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1994),

serious values that the poet and his society embrace. But those their laughable mimetic objects express in subjective monologue often are deliberately the perverse opposite of what the author assumed his audience believes. Let's pretend 'frauds' à la Gorgias and Horace, such poems do not march in the harsh buskins of tragedy and invective. They tread lightly in playful Venusine socks, yet for much the same grave ends.

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pp. 898-906 (pp. 902-903). Regarding the re-ordering of Aristotle's *Poetics* behind Heinsius' rearrangement of the *Ars poetica*, see Paul R. Sellin, 'From *Res* to *Pathos*: The Leiden "Ordo Aristotelis" and the Origins of Seventeenth-Century Recovery of the Pathetic in interpreting Aristotle's *Poetics*', *Ten Studies in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, ed. Jan van Dorsten (Leiden and Oxford: Sir Thomas Browne Institute, 1974), pp. 72-93 (pp. 73-78).

Robert C. SIMMS

SATIRE AND ALLUSION IN ANDREW MARVELL'S  
*DIGNISSIMO SUO AMICO DOCTORI WITTIE*

## 1. Introduction

Andrew Marvell's *Dignissimo suo Amico Doctori Wittie*, a short neo-Latin poem prefacing Robert Wittie's translation of James Primerose's *De Vulgi in Medicina Erroribus*, or *Popular Errours*, attracts little attention. Discussion of the poem is meager; indeed, this short paper is among the poem's longer treatments.<sup>1</sup> The poem primarily denigrates early modern print and tobacco culture through the gestures and postures of Roman satire. Marvell nevertheless encodes praise for his Hull friend through allusions that direct reader attention to passages outside and beyond Marvell's commendatory poem. These referential units are found in passages highly suggestive of praise for Wittie and his career, and are too conspicuous to be taken as coincidental. The discussion that follows has three aims: to treat matters of translation and interpretation; to treat the poem's handling of the Roman satirical register; and to discuss the syntagmatic units that encode praise for Wittie.

## 2. The Text

The text of *Dignissimo suo Amico Doctori Wittie* has required few emendations and corrections from its initial publication.<sup>2</sup> In order to facilitate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Estelle Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry: From Text to Context*, Collection Latomus, 275 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 2003), pp. 95-111, 256-257. See also Nigel Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell* (London: Pearson Longman, 2007), pp. 175-179; William McQueen and Kiffin Rockwell, *The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell*, University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, 34 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 35-38; John Potter, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry* (Michigan: Unpublished PhD, University of Michigan, 1967), pp. 56-60, 148-151.

<sup>2</sup> For a full list of alterations see those noted in H.M. Margoliouth's edition *Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952) and Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, pp. 175-179.



discussion, I have reproduced Marvell's poem as it appears in the 1651 edition of Wittie's translation of Primerose's *Popular Errours*.<sup>3</sup>

**Dignissimo suo amico Doctori WITTIE, de  
Translatione Vulgi Errorum**

Nempe sic<sup>4</sup> innumero succrescunt agmine libri,  
*Sæpia* vix toto ut jam natet una mari.  
 Fortius assidui surgunt a vulnere præli:  
 Quoque magis premitur, auctior Hydra redit.  
 Heu quibus *Anticyris*, quibus est sanabilis herbis  
 Improba scribendi pestis, avarus amor.  
*India* sola tenet tanti medicamina morbi,  
 Dicitur & nostris ingemuisse malis.  
 Utile *Tabacci* dedit illa miserta venenum,  
*Acci* veratro quod meliora potest.  
 Jamque vides olidas libris fumare popinas:  
 Naribus O doctis quam pretiosus odor!  
 Hâc ego præcipuâ credo herbam dote placere,  
 Hinc tuus has nebulas *Doctor* in astra vehit.  
 Ah mea quid tandem facies timidissima charta?  
 Exequias *siticen* jam parat usque tuas.  
 Hunc subeas librum sancti ceu limen asyli,  
 Quem neque delebit flamma, nec ira *Jovis*.

### 3. A Few Comments on Translation and Editing

The poem features considerable richness in classical allusion while also addressing the concerns of Marvell's age, polished and erudite without tending toward the overly academic.<sup>5</sup> The poem divides neatly into four sections: lines 1-4 attack the endless production of books; lines 5-10 establish a corollary between tobacco and hellebore in order to attack the learned tobacco smoker; lines 11-14 invoke the habitudes of tobacco smokers and the use of paper as spills for lighting pipes, Marvell also has some teasing fun at Wittie's expense in a gesture of mock-apotheosis that suggests the smoke from his pages will convey him to the stars; lines

<sup>3</sup> For convenience the medial 's' has been rendered terminal from the original manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> Marvell scans *sic* as a short syllable.

<sup>5</sup> On the nature and common features of neo-Latin poetry in general see James W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England; The Latin Writings of the Age*, Arca, 24 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), pp. 160-171.

15-18 lament the ultimate fate of Marvell's own pages — a well-developed *topos* among satirists — presumably because of their inclusion in Wittie's text.

In line 1, *innumero agmine* forces a choice among translators between two compelling interpretations. Translators have variously rendered these words: Potter renders the phrase 'innumerable ranks'; Haan prefers 'countless troop'; McQueen and Rockwell as well as Smith take them as 'endless stream'. The sense of *agmen* is 'something' in forward motion and I believe Marvell plays with the vagueness of this term. The word often tends to denote rivers and streams as well as marching ranks of troops. The image here echoes Statius' lines at *Theb.*, 4, 637-638: 'bellum, innumero venit undique bellum | agmine'. The words should be read closely with the image of *libri* as an upright rank of books in an endless column. While acceptable, 'stream' does not fully capture the martial flavor developed in lines 3-4. Additionally, *mari* offers a water image in the next line making 'stream' seem distastefully redundant in English translation.<sup>6</sup> While my own preference is for 'rank' because of the passage from Statius, given the material production of paper, and thus books, 'stream' is also sound.

Paper mills were often established near a water source alongside presses with water-driven mills and the vat method as the customary means of production. The raw material for paper was linen and water. As Shorter's study reveals: 'Rivers, leats, or ponded waters were used for driving the machinery by which materials were pulped, and abundant supplies of water were required for the paper-making process'.<sup>7</sup> The raw materials were hammered into the liquid pulp, sluiced through a mesh corresponding to the papers mould, stacked into quires, pressed to remove excess water, removed from the stack, and hung up on a line to dry. If the paper was to be used for books it would later be trimmed. The brilliance of Marvell's word choice is its ambiguity. In addition to the martial 'ranks', *agmen* can as likely indicate the streams that power the paper mills, which continue as an endless source of energy for the production of books. In this sense 'books grow up *from* or *out of* an endless stream'. Likewise, the image could intend quires of paper stacked on top of each

<sup>6</sup> Of course, economy is not a reliable argument against a redundancy of water images and is not without precedent. Cf. Stat., *Theb.*, 5, 1-2: 'Pulsa sitis fluvio, populataque gurgitis altum | agmina linquebant ripas amnemque minorem'.

<sup>7</sup> Alfred Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: An Historical and Geographical Study* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971), pp. 13-14.

other as books 'growing up from underneath in unnumbered ranks'. The word is cleverly chosen because it is loaded with several possible interpretations and forces a choice from a number of compelling images.

*Praeli* is the variant spelling for *preli* (*prae-*) 'press' and *proeli* 'battle'. Marvell's 'a vulnere praeli' reveals another ambiguous moment in the text, which plays on the variant spellings of both *prelum* and *proelium*; although commentators tend to identify only *prelum*.<sup>8</sup> This is sensible despite the weak presence of 'battle'. The image is vaguely reminiscent of Redcross's encounter with the beast Error, especially where the Lernean hydra invokes Hercules by association.<sup>9</sup> The *prelum* is essentially the crossbar of the press and came to be known by extension as the press itself. It may also have come to identify publishers generally, after the *Prelum Ascensianum* imprint of Badius. The pressure of the crossbar must cause the wound to the *libri* in line 1.<sup>10</sup> The notion that anything rises after being wounded is, of course, a paradox. We might take *assidui* as genitive with *praeli* but this does not clarify the meaning. I prefer *assidui* as nominative plural extending the idea of *libri*, which is closer to the *hydra* image that Marvell builds to in the next line.<sup>11</sup> The preceding images *innumero agmine* and *fortius surgunt* also have a martial tone. I suspect Marvell is ambivalent here also. He may have had a proverbial phrase in mind that is preserved in Dekker's *The Gull's Hornbook*: 'Ad prelum tanquam ad praelium': 'we should come to the press as we come to the field, seldom'.<sup>12</sup>

Lucr., 4, 640 and Pers., 1, 51 use the term *veratro* for 'hellebore' poetically. In 1726, Thomas Cooke emended *Acci*, as it was present in the publication of Wittie's translation and in *Miscellaneous Poems*, to read *Acri*. Cooke likely assumed the second 'c' was a typographical error and that Marvell intended *Acri*.<sup>13</sup> Hellebore apparently has an initially bitter

<sup>8</sup> Margoliouth, *Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvel*, I, 243; Potter, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, p. 150; and Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Potter, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, p. 150, *contra* McQueen and Rockwell, *The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell*, p. 37.

<sup>11</sup> *Assidui* may also have been drawn from the satiric register. Cf. Hor., *epod.*, 15, 13; *Iuv.*, 14, 118 and esp. Pers., 3, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Dekker, *The wonderful year; The gull's hornbook; Penny-wise, pound foolish; English villainies discovered by lantern and candlelight, and selected writings*, ed. by E.D. Pendry (London: Arnold, 1967), p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Also worth noting, in the 1651 edition of Wittie's translation only proper nouns are indicated by italics. *Miscellaneous Poems* preserves the reading *Acci* but sets the entire poem in italics.

taste before rendering the tongue numb. This may partly account for the acceptance of *Acri* by subsequent editors; however, this emendation is an error. Marvell actually intended *Acci* as the genitive of the proper name *Accius* and not the adjective *Acri*. Cooke's emendation yields: 'the useful poison of tobacco provides something better than bitter hellebore'. A translation as Marvell intended should read: '(...) provides something better than the hellebore of Accius'.

Marvell has in mind either a specific verse from Pers., 1, 50-51 or a passage from Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In either case, Burton's passage records the appropriate verse out of Persius. Burton discusses the practice of taking white hellebore as a form of sneezing powder at Rome:

White hellebore, which some call sneezing-powder, a strong purger upward, which many reject, as being too violent: Mesue and Averroes will not admit of it, "by reason of danger of suffocation," "great pain and trouble it puts the poor patient to," saith Dodonaeus. Yet Galen, lib. 6. simpl. med. and Dioscorides, cap. 145. allow of it. It was indeed "terrible in former times" as Pliny notes, but now familiar, insomuch that many took it in those days that were students, to quicken their wits, which Persius *Sat.* 1. objects to Accius the poet, *Ilias Acci ebria veratro*.<sup>14</sup>

Casaubon's commentary on Persius also discusses these lines and cites the same passage from Pliny used by Burton at greater length, citing Carneades' practice of using hellebore as a purgative to clear his mind before debates with Zeno. Of Accius, or Attius, as the two are interchangeable, Casaubon comments:

hoc est quam illi expressit non copia ingenii; ἀφωής enim & ineptus erat: sed labor improbus ac gloriolae pruritus, & si quae alia sunt infelicitium ingeniorum irritamenta. Cum alia autem excitando ingenio tardo valent, tum etiam interdum pharmaca, inq; his veratrum. Clarum vel exemplo Carneadis Academici, qui solitus elleboro purgari (...) jamque ea res in morem studiosorum transierat.<sup>15</sup>

Marvell uses Accius to stand for poetasters generally and attack seventeenth century literary culture. Instead of hellebore, Marvell's contemporaries use 'the helpful poison tobacco'; thus, the poet draws an analogue between Roman hacks who use hellebore and early modern authors who use tobacco to stimulate pseudo-creative and intellectual activity.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Book II, sect. iv, mem. ii, sub. I.

<sup>15</sup> Isaac Casaubon, *Auli Persi Flacci satirarum liber* (London: M. Flesher, 1647), pp. 95-96.

#### 4. Context

*Dignissimo suo amico* is the sixth poem in a dedicatory cycle featuring various authors that preface Robert Wittie's translation of James Primerose's 1638 *De Vulgi in Medicina Erroribus*.<sup>16</sup> The first two poems in the cycle are dedicated to Primerose. The remaining six are dedicated to Wittie, a physician at Hull where Primerose also practiced and former usher at the Hull Grammar School where Marvell attended. The attributive adjective used in the title is worth a brief comment. Three of the five Latin poems address their dedicatee in the superlative: *Charissimum Jacobum Primirosium*, *Amicissimo suo Doctore Wittie*, and *Dignissimo suo Amico*; the other two have *Praeclaro*. In the three English commendations, however, Wittie is *kind*, *worthy*, and *ingenious*. In this sample, Latin verse offers the greater praise.

Marvell provided two dedicatory poems for Wittie's translation, one in Latin and another in English: *Dignissimo suo Amico Doctore Wittie* and 'To his worthy friend Doctor Wittie upon his translation of the Popular Errors'. While the gap between 'most worthy' and merely 'worthy' is slight, there is nevertheless an apparent difference between these two peritextual markers. While both of Marvell's poems are of a common genre — commendatory verse — the experience of each differs. The Latin and English poems posit two distinct categories of reader, those with a command of Latin, and those without. The two poems present an acute matter of accessibility.

In *The Translator to the Reader*, Wittie claims to translate with the 'desire of profiting those that cannot understand Latine'. Wittie makes his position evident in this preface when he expresses concern for the 'overcredulous people' who by 'foolish receipts' are cheated 'both of their money and their health'. Wittie writes with the hope that he 'may undeceive the people'. His labours are for the gentlewomen, for whom he endeavors in his translation 'to be as plaine as the nature therof'.<sup>17</sup> Wittie's tone is not overtly demonstrative of the frictions between the learned and the lay with respect to the availability and democratization of medical knowledge in this period.<sup>18</sup> Wittie presents himself as a practical man

<sup>16</sup> For a more thorough reading of the other dedicatory poems see Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, pp. 96-100.

<sup>17</sup> On Wittie's style of translation see Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, pp. 103-104: 'For the most part Wittie's translation is unadorned and in fact very readable, rendering Latin words by etymologically related English equivalents'.

<sup>18</sup> For a general discussion of medical knowledge in this period see David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (eds), *The Cambridge History of Early Modern Literature* (Cambridge -

who felt an urgent need to make available Primerose's medical treatise to a wider public:

In trivial matters Errorr is lesse dangerous; but in Physick; being a noble science, conversant about such noble subject as the body of man, Errorrs are more palpable, especially when they are growne vulgar and popular, tending to the generall harme of the microcosme.

Nevertheless, Zacutus, and likely many others in the learned practice of medicine, prefer to limit accessibility. Zacutus's judgment of Primerose's work, reproduced from the Latin edition in Wittie's translation, presents a much more guarded opinion: 'I abhorre to think on this one thing, that sort of silly Plebeans, debayst idly Emphyricks, should dare to take to themselves the honourable Titles and Employment of the Learned'. Zacutus praises the work of Primerose as one that 'discourses accurately concerning the errorrs of the people in physic' and 'stops the proud attempts of those fond Bablers'. For Zacutus accurate medical knowledge is only for the physician. Zacutus does not acknowledge that Primerose's work has limited availability and helpfulness among the lay public because it is not written in English; all access to its contents will be secondary, passed to the public from the physician, or some other person with knowledge of the Latin.

In these two examples, both drawn from the same text, a critical debate underlies the wider availability of medical information. Tension is not slight between the need to address ailment and sickness of the body and the competition for authority and influence over medical ministration. Wittie's translation is by no means a significant turn in the availability of medical information to a lay public. Still, the work should be set within a historical moment where there was clearly both a demand and a need to curb abuses and malpractice among the ignorant and untrained. Moreover, the vernacular was fast replacing Latin as the dominant language of published medical discourse. As Febvre and Martin indicate, from the sixteenth century onward readers (and I would emphasize consumers) of printed books were 'increasingly a lay public — made up in large part of women and of merchants, many of whom had hardly any knowledge of Latin'.<sup>19</sup> Latin clearly remains a buffer between the learned and Zacutus'

New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 154-158. See also John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of The Book in Britain*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999-), IV, 1557-1695, 283-285.

<sup>19</sup> Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. David Gerard (London: NLB, 1976), p. 320.

‘silly Plebeans’. Primerose’s work is only accessible to readers of Latin. Despite the increased availability of Primerose’s work through Wittie, the translator preserves the Latin buffer. The chief example of this occurs where Greek passages from Primerose’s text are carried into Wittie’s translation as Latin.

## 5. The English Companion Poem

The English counterpart, *To his worthy friend Doctor Witty*, does not have the same aims as *Dignissimo suo amico Doctori Wittie*. As Smith observes the English poem ‘relates more extensively to the contents of *Popular Errours*’.<sup>20</sup> The poem effectively confines the reader to the volume at hand. Unlike Marvell’s accompanying Latin poem, the English poem will not send readers to their books hunting up Marvell’s allusions. The readership for whom Wittie intends his translation lack the facility and competence to pursue the same kind of strategic allusions developed in *Dignissimo suo Amico*. The poem is, despite the title and direct address, for the public more than Wittie. The abiding feature of the poem is its position on translation. There is a strong inclination to read this as strictly a literary position, a glimpse of Marvell’s own feelings about translation.<sup>21</sup> I am not inclined to that judgment. A position on literary translation seems an unlikely interest for persons considering the purchase of a medical treatise. More likely, Marvell’s English poem means to instill the reader with confidence for Wittie’s translation of Primerose’s Latin text.

Marvell offers much more praise for his friend in the English poem than in the Latin, where he often has a bit of fun at Wittie’s expense. The majority of readers for whom Wittie’s text is intended are incapable of reading Latin. How then will they feel confident they have purchased a genuine article, a faithful translation of Primerose’s medical treatise? By directing the reader’s attention to the text, Marvell bolsters reader confidence in Wittie’s translation. There is little emphasis on aesthetic appeal or consideration of Wittie’s actual method. Consider the rhetorical structure of the first part of the poem. The second line sets up Wittie’s ‘honoured name’ and immediately follows this with an association to ‘the

<sup>20</sup> See Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 178.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *ibid.* and Haan, *Andrew Marvell’s Latin Poetry*, p. 102.

good interpreter' (3). This term is reinforced, not with positive examples of Wittie's method of translation, but negative considerations built around a generalized 'some' and 'others' construction (3-12). Marvell closes the argument with the admonition that any translator is a thief who steals from a work through needless embellishment and adornment (13-16). Marvell focuses the reader's attention on Wittie's text as a practical translation and develops the reliability of this translation through a criticism of translations that embellish, and fail to deliver a faithful and accurate text.<sup>22</sup> The English poem's intention to instill confidence is best indicated in the last lines: 'You have Translations Statutes best fulfil'd | That, handling neither sully nor would guild.' The reader is guided to conclude the translation is faithful by observing the praise Marvell directs toward Wittie. Thus, whether Marvell felt that Wittie had rendered a faithful translation of Primerose is an insignificant point. What matters, to both the reader and the publisher, is the reliability of the text as one that makes Primerose's Latin text accessible to lay readers and worth its purchase price.

In the second part of a seemingly tripartite structure, Marvell invokes the figure of Celia<sup>23</sup> (17-26), who undermines the necessity of Latin in medical discourse. She is a conduit for the praise of English and a gesture to the virtue of the language, a vessel that 'doth more richly flow | Than Tagus, purer than dissolved snow'. This metaphor for a river, here the longest in the Iberian Peninsula, ideally flows a course by nature fixed, a course that notionally confines the river within its banks. Rivers grow muddy and flood when they rise from their banks and are no longer in their natural place. Marvell invites a comparison between Celia, and her virtue, against the image of a river. She learns Italian and French, Marvell tells us, but: 'Her native beauty's not Italianated, | Nor her chaste mind into French translated' (23-24). Though her command of European languages decorates her thoughts, they do not pollute her: 'Her thoughts are English' (25). Her virtuous English nature should hold a strong appeal for Wittie's intended reader. Marvell's Celia implies that one can be learned in English. This position counters any anticipated view that Wittie's translation is less valuable because it is not written in Latin.

<sup>22</sup> Like that of Denham cited at Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 178.

<sup>23</sup> Celia is most probably Mary Fairfax. Marvell was a tutor in Lord Fairfax's household. Wittie likely facilitated Marvell's employment by introducing the two men. See Robert Hodge, *Foreshortened Time: Andrew Marvell and Seventeenth Century Revolutions* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), pp. 134-135. However, Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 178 suggests Frances Strickland.



The poem also gestures toward restraint. Marvell reinforces the appropriate place of Wittie's lay readers by matching in verse the image in the frontispiece of the translation.<sup>24</sup> The depiction shows a man in sickbed visited by a gentlewoman, an angel, and a physician. The angel stands between the physician and the gentlewoman, ushering the former and restraining the latter. By focusing so closely on Wittie's translation, the English poem 'doth stint' to use Marvell's words.<sup>25</sup> By contrast, the Latin poem is so referential that it would be impossible to make full sense of the poem without access to the numerous allusions Marvell sourced.

## 6. The Satiric Mode

Marvell's *Dignissimo suo Amico* develops a narrator within the Roman satiric tradition by evoking themes and moods of the Roman satiric, epigrammatic, and iambographic tradition. Yet, while Marvell seeks to subvert the commendatory genre through a satiric mode, he preserves praise for Wittie by using lexical units that redirect the capable reader to the passages from which they are culled. Naturally, one of the impediments to such a reading is the slippery experience of recollection. One needs to recall that a particular word or phrase comes from a particular passage. A reader might, for instance, feel this kind of moment at line 2, reading *saepia* and recognising it as a technical word for the cuttle-fish and by extension the ink harvested from the dried ink sacs, but recall its poetic use in Pers., 3, 13. A remembrance might be more strongly felt at line 5 which closes *est sanabilis herbis*, taken from Apollo's boast of greatness to Daphne at *met.*, 1, 523; perhaps the reader senses that Marvell is being playful by evoking the god of art and medicine. These moments of anamnesis arrest the reader, force a pause and compel one to consider allusive connections. Marvell must have anticipated such a reader, perhaps Wittie himself, capable of making appropriate connections. Without such a reader, the fullest spaces of meaning for both the satire and the praise in his poem would remain unconstructed.

<sup>24</sup> Reproduced in Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 176.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Marvell's lines 29-30 in the poem: 'Women must not teach here: the doctor doth | Stint them to caudles, almond-milk and broth'. I agree with Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 178 and add in support that the gentlewomen appears to hold some sort of vessel. Cf. Haan, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, p. 102.

A first reading of *Dignissimo suo amico* does not upset this simple text. The peritextual and allographic markers, e.g. the poem's place within a cycle of similar poems and the title, stabilise the poem within the genre of commendatory verse. Marvell begins the poem, *nempe*. This is a deceptively frequent word in Latin literature, seen most often in conversational use indicating a response to a previous statement, sometimes used sarcastically; one might translate it as 'indeed', 'certainly', or 'perhaps, but'. The use of *nempe* in an initial poetic position is rare, however, found only among Roman satirists.<sup>26</sup> Marvell's usage gives the poem a fragmented quality, as though it was a piece of responsive dialogue. More importantly, the use suggests that Marvell intends to develop a satirical, rather than a commendatory narrator, like the one we find in the English counterpart. As Casaubon writes on the use of *nempe* in his commentary on Persius:

Familiare est satiricis poetis, ut ex abrupto ordiantur, & molles aditus ad susceptum argumentum spernant, quos alii plerumque scriptores studiose sectantur. Multa igitur diligentia lectoris veniunt supplenda: imprimis autem, quis loquatur: fere enim dramatica sunt eorum scripta.<sup>27</sup>

This abrupt shift in register immediately upsets the reader's expectation. The first word of Marvell's poem betrays the stability of the physical location of the poem within the text and the promise inherent in the title, shifting the reader from a commendatory into a satiric mode. This moment clearly demonstrates that Marvell means to align himself within a satiric tradition rather than commendatory verse.

Marvell, in another instance, remarks how one sees the smelly dives smoking with burning pages: 'Jamque vides olidas libris fumare popinas: | Naribus O doctis quam pretiosus odor!' (11-12). While the use does not necessarily direct our attention to a particular passage, *popinas* has considerable energy among Roman satirists and its use here further suggests that Marvell writes in their vein. These habitudes are usually joined to more descriptive adjectives: *inmundis* or *uncta* for Horace; *tepidis* for Martial; Juvenal finds them *calidae*, pestilentially warm places to find rabble and profligates; similarly, Columella declares the *popinae* are for the *socors et somniculosum*, slaves who are stupid and drowsy; perhaps they lounge in the *sellariolis popinis*, one furnished with seats, as at Mart.,

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Pers., 3, the most likely inspiration, and Hor., *sat.*, 1, 10 (the first 8 lines are spurious).

<sup>27</sup> Casaubon, *Auli Persi Flacci satirarum liber*, p. 229.

5, 70, 3.<sup>28</sup> For Marvell the *olidas popinas* stink because of the tobacco. Here the dismal low-class dive establishes an analogous space that erases the time and distance between Marvell's London and the satirist's Rome. The lowliness of *popinas* is further contrasted with the lofty terms *doc-tis* and *pretiosus*. Marvell demonstrates a satirist's contempt for tobacco as an extravagant odor for learned nostrils.

Marvell groans over the imagined doom of his pages in the hands of a tobacconist using the page as a spill for lighting his pipe:<sup>29</sup> 'Ah mea quid tandem facies timidissima charta?' (15). This direct address to paper, scornfully or playfully, verging on undeserved destruction is common among Roman poets. Catullus 36 directs an attack against Volusius's *cacata charta*, his shit-paper poems, that are fit only for burning. He attacks Volusius again in 95 but rather than burn his work finds it better fit for wrapping mackerel: 'laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas'. Pers., 1, 43 has 'nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus'. Martial, in a slight parody of Catullus' dedication to the historian Cornelius Nepos writes:

Cuius vis fieri, libelli, munus?  
Festina tibi vindicem parare,  
Ne nigram cito raptus in culinam  
Cordylas madida tegas papyro  
Vel turis piperisve sis cucullus.<sup>30</sup>

Dekker also takes up this *topos* to rail at a smoker who uses his pages as waste-paper wrapping for drying out wet tobacco:

Or some smoked gallant who at wit repines  
To dry tobacco with my wholesome line  
And in one paper sacrifice more brain  
Than all his ignorant skull could e'er contain.<sup>31</sup>

Marvell's playful but denigrating address to his own *timidissima charta* attacks seventeenth century tobacco and print culture. Within the context of the poem, Marvell not only mocks his own lines but also points out the wasteful excess of print. The direct address to *charta* as spills aligns the narrator within a tradition of narrators scoffing at the material sub-

<sup>28</sup> See Hor., *sat.*, 2, 4, 62 and *epist.*, 1, 14, 21; Mart. 41, 10 and 5, 70, 3; Iuv., 8, 158; 8, 172, and 11, 81; Colum., 1, 8, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Margoliouth, *Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvel*, I, 243 and Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, p. 175.

<sup>30</sup> Mart., 3, 2, 1-5.

<sup>31</sup> Pendry, *The wonderful year*, p. 35.

stance of poems — *carta* and *papyro* — as a means of pointing to the loftier and transcendent elements of paper.

In addition to those literary moments treated above, Potter points to Hor., *epist.*, 2, 1, 267-270:

Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere et una  
cum scriptore meo, capsula porrectus operta  
deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores  
et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

Potter reads the whole of *Dignissimo suo amico* as a series of Horatian commonplaces.<sup>32</sup> This position, however, does not speak to the evidence of a larger literary culture using this motif as a form of attack. Marvell's Latin allusions extend well beyond Horace in this poem. What Potter delineates as Horatian commonplace is more a feature of the satiric mode present across Roman poetic genres — lyric, epigram, verse epistle — as well as Elizabethan poets sensitive to the motif.<sup>33</sup> Marvell strategically appropriates this position to establish himself within a tradition, rather than alongside a particular author. Marvell dilates the utility of paper but confines it to its material, rather than its artistic, presence to highlight its triviality among pipe smokers. This presentation is infused with a tradition of similar trivialising moves that stabilise the poem as satire.

## 7. Continued Praise

Despite the poem's thematic homologues with the Roman satiric tradition, Marvell maintains close, although obscure, contact with the commendatory genre. In three instances, Marvell suggestively praises Wittie in the sources from which he draws an allusive unit.<sup>34</sup> In the first four lines, for instance, Marvell writes of books that have grown up in such numbers that scarcely a single cuttlefish still swims in the sea:

<sup>32</sup> Potter, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>33</sup> McQueen and Rockwell, *The Latin Poetry of Andrew Marvell*, p. 37 refer to Ben Jonson's *Execration upon Vulcan*, which also numbers among these examples.

<sup>34</sup> Potter, *Andrew Marvell's Latin Poetry*, p. 59 suspects this kind of play between text and source noting the resemblances to Hor., *car.*, 3, 30: 'In the last four lines of the poem, Marvell turns the insult into a compliment by a reference, this time almost sincere, to the most famous of Horace's statements about his poetry (...) Marvell is not so serious or straightforward; but the allusion is clear'.

Nempe sic innumero succrescunt agmine libri,  
 Sæpia vix toto ut jam natet una mari.  
 Fortius assidui surgunt a vulnere præli:  
 Quoque magis premitur, auctior Hydra redit.

In addition to Marvell's facility of overturning one genre by developing the allusive presence of another, he also encodes praise for Wittie through the verb *succrescunt*. The word derives from *sub* + *crescere* meaning essentially 'to grow up from underneath' or, as at Lucr., 5, 833, 'to grow up anew when something else is destroyed', and is not very common. Complaints of literary abundance are a staple in Roman literature, as Plin., *epist.*, 1, 13 (to Sossius Senecionus) suggests: 'magnum proventum poetarum annus his attulit: toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis'. Use of *succrescunt*, however, is limited; Ovid has two instances at *met.*, 9, 352 and 8, 680, neither appearing to have any great bearing on the poem. Most likely Marvell had a specific passage from the end of Cicero's *De Oratore* (3, 61, 230) in mind:

non enim ille mediocris orator vestrae quasi **succrescit** aetati, sed et ingenio peracri et studio flagranti et doctrina eximia et memoria singulari; cui quamquam faveo, tamen illum aetati suae praestare cupio, vobis vero illum tanto minorem praecurrere vix honestum est.

Given the friendship between Wittie and Marvell,<sup>35</sup> and the limited occurrences of *succrescunt*, the source of the reference in Cicero is highly suggestive of praise for Wittie as he, or his career, grow up beneath the elder Primerose. On the surface, the poem teasingly suggests Wittie's work places yet another book in the *innumero agmine*, a position corroborated by the final lines that suggest Wittie's fame will go to the stars as smoke. Nevertheless, as a hyper-textual marker, *succrescunt* invites the reader to take the word in a different sense, one much closer to praise for Wittie.

A more complicated instance of referential praise occurs at line 4 with 'Quoque magis premitur, auctior Hydra redit'. In *Miscellaneous Poems* the present indicative was altered to the perfect *pressa est*.<sup>36</sup> Commentators have noted this alteration introduced a pun on 'press'. We have Mary

<sup>35</sup> Margoliouth, *Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, II, 376 contains a letter from Wittie on 'the loss of our dear friend Mr. M. for whom I am a sincere mourner'.

<sup>36</sup> The present, with a certain sense of immediacy is the general mood of the poem. Exceptions occur at *ingemuisse*, which suggests that India no longer groans and has abandoned its concern or possibly as a customary action. The other exception is *delebit*, which serves to heighten the sense of posterity, or mock-posterity, of Wittie's translation.

Marvell's assurance that the 1681 *Miscellaneous Poems* were 'printed according to the exact copies of my late dear husbands, under his own handwriting, being found since his death among his other papers'. The truth of this statement, however, and the existence of Mary Marvell, is uncertain.<sup>37</sup> The alteration is certainly a clever one, not only does it introduce a pun on press, in the scansion it resolves the two shorts of *pre-mi-* to a long, producing a heavier, more spondaic line, and taking away a *productio in arsi*. Additionally, it amplifies the pun already present in *auctor*. An image consistent with the description of the Hydra in myth, the root *augere* is etymologically related to *auctor* from which we have 'author'. On this ingenuity alone, the emendation seems within the playful scope of Marvell's poetic genius. Nevertheless, the change in *Miscellaneous Poems* closes off the likely intention of the line as presented in the 1651 manuscript.

The alteration from *premitur* to *pressa est* erases a reference similar to that discussed in *succrescunt*. Here, Marvell likely intends readers, or a reader, to associate the half-line 'Quoque magis premitur' with the second line of Alciati's Emblem 36 *Obdurandum adversus urgentia* treating the palm as a prize for victory:

Nititur in pondus palma, et consurgit in arcum,  
 Quo magis et premitur, hoc mage tollit onus:  
 Fert et odoratas, bellaria dulcia, glandes,  
 Queis mensas inter primus habetur honos.  
 I, puer, et reptans ramis has collige: mentis  
 Qui constantis erit, praemia digna feret.

While the sense in the second line is quite similar to Marvell's, the sequence of words is not. This may be an instance of misrecollection on Marvell's part or a textual variant that I have not located. Oddly, Desprez's 1839 commentary on Horace makes use of this epigram and quotes the half-line as Marvell renders it, not as it is preserved in reproductions of Alciati's emblems.<sup>38</sup> In any case, the meaning is the same. In 1651, *premitur* had the potential to direct a reader to Alciati 36. The arrival at this particular locus would again suggest praise for Wittie, especially in the final lines where the palm is a prize for mental prowess, the one who will be of steady mind will carry off the worthy rewards.

<sup>37</sup> Carl Bain, 'The Latin Poetry of Marvell', *Philological Quarterly*, 38 (1959), 436-449 (p. 437).

<sup>38</sup> Louis Desprez (ed.), *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera* (Philadelphia: J. Allen, 1839).

Lastly, when Marvell grieves over the future of his *timidissima charta* he writes: 'Ah mea quid tandem facies timidissima charta? | Exequias siticen jam parat usque tuas' (16-17). The term *siticen* 'funeral musician' comes from Aulus Gellius, a singularly occurring word in Roman literature. It survives in Gellius as a fragment from a purported speech of Marcus Cato identifying various musicians: 'siticines et liticenses et tubicines'.<sup>39</sup> Gellius chronicles an attempt to define this peculiar *hapax legomenon*: 'Nos autem in Capitonis Atei Conjectaneis invenimus, "siticines" appellatos qui apud "sitos" canere soliti essent, hoc est vita functos et sepultos.' Within the context of *Dignissimo suo Amico*, Marvell uses the *siticen* to suggest the impending doom of the *timidissima carta* as he prepares its funeral rites. Gellius does nothing more than define the term; however, he also records the title of Cato's speech to which the fragment belongs: *Ne imperium sit Veteri, ubi Novus Venerit*, out with the old and in with the new. Within the title, we again experience a similar theme of succession as in *succrescunt* and *Quoque magis premitur*. Marvell uses the referential sources as a means of praising Wittie.

## 8. Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to discuss textual features of *Dignissimo suo amico* that have been unexplored by other commentators. The larger implications of this little Latin poem are how well it forms the early development of Marvell as reader and poet. Of the former, the poem indicates that Marvell's interest in Roman literature goes well beyond Horace. Indeed, he appears to express at this early stage in his poetic career a notable preoccupation with the satiric genre. To this end, the wider reading, e.g. the echoes of Ovid and Statius, become material Marvell shapes into his satire. Such generic transpositions, especially from epic, are a notable feature among the Roman satiric writers. Marvell's *Dignissimo suo amico* is a unique experiment in allusion. I know of no other occurrence in literature where strategically placed references develop praise. Finally, it shows Marvell as a poet tinkering with his narrative poses by writing in a way that is double-voiced. On one hand, Marvell wears the

<sup>39</sup> Gell., 20, 2, 3.

satirist's mantle and develops a narrator in that persona, yet through suggestive allusions a more sincere Marvell, and friend to Wittie, sounds through.<sup>40</sup>

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NATURAL LAW, APULEIUS, AND TOPOI OF FICTION IN  
*PSYCHE CRETICA* (REGENSBURG, 1685),  
A NEO-LATIN NOVEL BY JOHANNES LUDOVICUS PRASCHIUS

In 1688, three years after his novel, *Psyche Cretica*, appeared in print, Johannes Ludovicus Praschius published an essay entitled: *De lege caritatis commentatio, ad Hugonis Grotii opus de iure belli et pacis*. The treatise is important because in it Praschius articulates his view of natural law and its moral and social ramifications. It is also valuable because it provides an expository account of the same subject matter as *Psyche Cretica* treats under the veil of fiction. I have two objectives in this article. I shall examine Praschius's conception of natural law as expressed in *De lege caritatis commentatio*. Then I shall consider *how* he uses fiction in *Psyche Cretica* to explain natural law and the corollary, which follows from it, that human beings should live together in peace. I shall preface my remarks with a note on the historical and literary environment in which Praschius lived and wrote.

## 1. Praschius in his Historical and Literary Context.

Praschius was born in Regensburg in 1637 during the Thirty Years War, a catastrophic conflict in which the German population declined by 35-40%, according to some estimates.<sup>1</sup> The War was both a religious strug-

<sup>1</sup> On the Thirty Years War, its causes, and its aftermath, see the detailed study by John G. Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime, 1600-1790*, Longman History of Germany (London – New York: Longman, 1991); estimates regarding the decline in the German population as a result of the War are reported on pp. 90-91. Concise but authoritative encyclopedia articles pertinent to the Thirty Years War are: Gerald Strauss, '11. The Confessional Age, 1519-1618', Id., '12. The Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648', and F. L. Carsten, '13. The Age of Absolutism, 1648-1789', under 'Germany' in *The Encyclopedia Americana International Edition*, 30 vols (Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1997), XII, 651-56.

gle between Catholics and Protestants and also a constitutional battle between the Holy Roman Emperor and German territorial princes who were keen to protect their sovereignty from threats of imperialism. The fighting ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia but it took Germany years to recover from the physical and economic devastation which it had suffered;<sup>2</sup> in its debilitated condition, it still faced a military threat posed by external opponents as, at various times in the second half of the seventeenth century, the Emperor and the princes, in whose interest it was to do so, engaged in conflicts with the Swedes, Louis XIV of France, and the Ottoman Turks.<sup>3</sup> And although the Peace of Westphalia resolved confessional strife so that religion ceased to precipitate future wars, doctrinal and other issues continued to divide Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists.<sup>4</sup>

Regensburg, an Imperial Free City since 1245, had become Lutheran in 1542.<sup>5</sup> The branch of the Prasches from whom Johannes Ludovicus Praschius descended had been Lutheran since the time of his great, great grandfather, Christian (d. 1548), who had left Hallein, where the family was established, and moved to Augsburg because of his Protestant faith.<sup>6</sup> The Prasches were prosperous, cultivated and inclined to professions in music and law. The two brothers who established the Regensburg line, Abel (1573-1630) and Johann (1584-1638), were both probably lawyers and each became a member of the *Innere Rat*, the branch of the city's government which 'aus 16 Männern, meist Volljuristen, sich zusammensetzte'.<sup>7</sup> Abel's wife and five children were killed in the Thirty Years War during the siege of Regensburg in 1634.<sup>8</sup> Johann's son, Johann Wolfgang (1609-1658), a Cuirassier Lieutenant in the War, was a lawyer and likewise a member of the *Innere Rat*; he was Praschius's father.

<sup>2</sup> Gagliardo, *Germany*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 235-258.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>5</sup> On the period leading up to Regensburg's development into an Imperial Free City, see Karl-Otto Ambronn, 'Der Kampf um die Macht 1180-1245 oder das Werden der Kommune', in *Regensburg im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit*, edd. Martin Angerer and Heinrich Wandewitz (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), pp. 57-70; on the history of Regensburg, see also the concise summary in *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie in zwanzig Bänden*, 25 vols (Wiesbaden: Brockhaus, 1966-81), XV, 549-551.

<sup>6</sup> The summary account of Praschius's life offered here is based on the masterful study by Karl Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung des Johann Ludwig Prasch (1637-1690)', *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 98 (1957), 5-219 (12-66).

<sup>7</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 44.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

Given the piety and refinement of his well-to-do family, it is no surprise that Praschius received an excellent Lutheran education, first, it is assumed, at the *Gymnasium Poeticum* in Regensburg<sup>9</sup>, and then, from 1654-1660, at Lutheran universities in Jena, Straßburg, and Gießen; at Straßburg, he entered the Faculty of Law (1 April 1656)<sup>10</sup>, but it was probably at Gießen, where he matriculated on 19 January 1659, that he completed his legal education.<sup>11</sup> When he returned to Regensburg in 1660, he embarked upon a career in public service to which he devoted the whole of his professional life. Among the positions that he held were the following: *Syndicus* (1665-72)<sup>12</sup>, Member of the *Innere Rat* (1665-90), Member of the *Innere Geheime Rat* (1675-90)<sup>13</sup>, *Vormundschaftsamt-direktor* (1673-84)<sup>14</sup>, *Cammerer/Bürgermeister* (1675-6, 1678-9, 1681-2, 1684-5, 1687-8)<sup>15</sup>, *Wähler* (1678-85)<sup>16</sup>, *Ungeldamtsdirektor* (1685-87)<sup>17</sup>, and *Steueramtsdirektor* (1688-90).<sup>18</sup> Praschius also served on the *Consistorium* whose function it was to supervise the clergy and school personnel;

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 21. On the *Gymnasium Poeticum*, see Alois Schmid, 'Das Gymnasium Poeticum', and Hans Jürgen Höller, 'Die Geschichte des Gymnasiums', in *Gelehrtes Regensburg Stadt der Wissenschaft: Stätten der Forschung im Wandel der Zeit* (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), pp. 120-21 and 122-139 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>12</sup> On the function of a *Syndicus*, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 45: 'Die Tätigkeit der damaligen Syndici ähnelt der der heutigen Rechtsräte. Sie mußten mit Hilfe von Unterbeamten die laufenden Kanzleigeschäfte erledigen, bei Rat und in den Ämtern referieren und die Ratsbeschlüsse protokollieren'.

<sup>13</sup> The *Innere Geheime Rat* was made up of 6 members from the *Innere Rat*; on its function, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 44: 'Dieser Geheime Innere Rat brachte mit der Zeit die faktische Regierungsgewalt fast ganz an sich, indem er immer mehr Geschäfte des Inneren Rates an sich zog'.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 46: 'Das Vormundsamt verwaltete die Güter und Vermögen verwaister Kinder und bestellte verantwortliche Vormünder'.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 44: 'An der Spitze des Gemeinwesens standen die vier Cammerer als regierende Bürgermeister. Von ihnen hatte jeder drei Monate die Regierungsgewalt'.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 46: 'Der Wähler trat am 28. und 29. Dezember in Tätigkeit, wenn der Rat und die Ämter für das nächste Jahr zu besetzen waren. Die Ernennung zum Wähler galt als Auszeichnung'.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*: 'Dieses Amt war nach dem Steueramt das höchste, das zu vergeben war. "Das Ungeldamt hatte nicht nur das fällige Ungeld (eine Wein- und Biersteuer) einzuziehen, es hatte auch sämtliche Mühlen und stadteigenen Gebäude, sowie die Getreidekästen (= Vorrathshäuser) zu beaufsichtigen und mußte "tempore Comitiorum alle Ratsstüben bei teglicher Auffahrung mit süß und sauern Weinen, Confect und Brod versehen"'.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*: 'Alle Ämter hatten wöchentlich alle eingehenden Gelder an das Steueramt abzuführen. Die Bürger mußten ihre jährliche Steuer hier entrichten. Sämtliche Gehälter wurden von diesem Amt, das also viel weitere Aufgaben als das heutige Amt gleichen Namens zu verrichten hatte, ausgezahlt'.

it oversaw printers and approved all books before publication; it also adjudicated in matters pertaining to marriage.<sup>19</sup> On 24 November 1684, Praschius became both President of the *Consistorium* and, at the same time, *Oberscholarch*. In the latter capacity, he had two goals of which the first was 'die Disziplin und gesunkene Moral der Schülerschaft zu heben'; the second was to raise 'das geistige Niveau des Unterrichtes', an objective which led him to publish several pedagogical texts pertaining to the teaching of Latin and German.<sup>20</sup> Circa 1685, Praschius sat as 'Deputierter zum Reichsstädtischen Collegium' in the *Reichstag* whose permanent seat had been established in Regensburg in 1663 (-1806).<sup>21</sup> On 11 June 1690, he died in his 54<sup>th</sup> year.

His ample career in public service would have been enough to earn Praschius high praise for a life well lived but he was also an accomplished and prolific writer.<sup>22</sup> Indeed one wonders how he was able to engage so fully in two such time-consuming endeavors.<sup>23</sup> Besides his novel, *Psyche Cretica*, and some of his pedagogy, his output in Latin included lyric poetry, occasional verse, drama (both comic and tragic), and *facetiae*; he also published text commentary, and treatises on law, theology, and the history of Latin and German as languages. In German, he published lyric and occasional verse and drama as well as texts on German poetry, grammar and usage; his celebrated *Glossarium Bavaricum* (1689) was the first dialectal lexicon produced for German.<sup>24</sup> He

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-50.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-55.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-2; on the origin of the 'Eternal Diet' at Regensburg, see Gagliardo, *Germany*, pp. 88-9 and 240.

<sup>22</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 198-208 provides a detailed list of titles attributed to Praschius (including libraries where copies are found); see also the more recent census by Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock. Zweite, verbesserte und wesentlich vermehrte Auflage des Bibliographischen Handbuchs der Barockliteratur*, Hiersemanns Bibliographische Handbücher, 9, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1990-1993), V: *PRAETORIUS – SPEE* (1991), 3194-3230.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas More, like Praschius, a lawyer, a distinguished statesman and a neo-Latin novelist, apologized to Petrus Aegidius for having taken so long to complete *Utopia* (1516) but explained that the only time he had for writing was what he took from sleeping and eating! See More's prefatory letter to Aegidius in *Utopia*, edd. Edward Surtz, S.J. and J.H. Hexter, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, 4 (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 40, ll. 4-11.

<sup>24</sup> The *Glossarium Bavaricum* was included in *Jo. Ludovici Praschii Dissertatio altera, De Origine Germanica Latinae Linguae, qua dissertatio prior, una cum Onomastico Germanico-Latino, aliquatenus suppletur & explicatur, adeoque via aperitur novo Etymologico. Accedit Glossarium Bavaricum* (Ratisbonae: Litteris et impensis Hofmannianis, 1689) (Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 202, no. 39; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V

also wrote his comprehensive Latin grammar, *Organon linguae latinae* (1686), in German because he believed that the native language of students was their conduit to a sound grasp of Latin, 'denn man kann nicht "obscurum per obscurum" lernen'.<sup>25</sup> Praschius's output can be divided into two parts. His *Catalogus opusculorum ab Jo. L. Praschio editorum edendorumque*, printed at Regensburg in 1680, listed 23 titles published from 1662-1680, which comprised 'zum größten Teil die lateinischen Dichtungen, die rechtsphilosophischen Schriften über den Status des Deutschen Reiches (als Auseinandersetzung mit Pufendorf) und die theologisch-dogmatischen Schriften gegen die reformierte Lehre'.<sup>26</sup> But it was during the last decade of his life when, paradoxically, his civic responsibilities were at their greatest, that his output proliferated, enriched by such works as *Psyche Cretica*, *De lege caritatis commentatio*, his publications on Latin and German pedagogy and his verse composed for official occasions. According to Dachs, Praschius produced some 50 titles from 1680-90 not counting undated items which belong to this period; nos. 63-145 in Dünnhaupt's census are dated 1680-1690.<sup>27</sup>

The person of fundamental importance in motivating Praschius to write *Psyche Cretica* was Susanna Elizabeth Prasch, née Keget, his second wife, whom he married in 1683 when she was 22 years old and he was

(1991), 3219, no. 104.II.1). On Praschius's *Glossarium Bavaricum*, see Ursula Götz, 'Hochsprache und Mundart im 17. Jahrhundert. Das Zeugnis des Regensburgers Johann Ludwig Prasch', in *Regensburger Deutsch. Zwölfhundert Jahre Deutschsprachigkeit in Regensburg*, ed. Susanne Näbl, Regensburger Beiträge zur Deutschen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, 80 (Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Vienna: Peter Lang, 2002), pp. 283-301; 'Johann Ludwig Prasch und sein "Glossarium Bavaricum": Sprachwissenschaft und Mundartkenntnis in Regensburg während des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Eberhard Dünninger, *Oberpfalz und Regensburg. Kultur- und Lebensbilder* (Regensburg: Mittelbayerische Druck- und Verlags-Gesellschaft mbH, 1998), pp. 64-71; Id., 'Johann Ludwig Prasch und Susanna Elisabeth Prasch — ein gelehrtes Dichterpaaar im 17. Jahrhundert (1637-1690 und 1661-nach 1691)', in *Berühmte Regensburger. Lebensbilder aus zwei Jahrtausenden*, edd. Karlheinz Dietz and Gerhard H. Waldherr (Regensburg: Universitätsverlag, 1997), pp. 171-175 (p. 174); Hans Jürgen Höller, 'Bürger als Gelehrte: Das Ehepaar Prasch', in *Gelehrtes Regensburg*, pp. 142-146 (pp. 145-146).

<sup>25</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 55-56. For bibliographical information on the text, see *ibid.*, 203, no. 43; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3219, no. 107.

<sup>26</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 26 (on Praschius's controversy with Pufendorf, see below, and footnote 61). For bibliographical information on the *Catalogus opusculorum*, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 207, no. 92; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3211, no. 64.

<sup>27</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 26-7; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3211-3227. As to why Dünnhaupt fails to include *Psyche Cretica* among these works, see below, footnote 71.

46.<sup>28</sup> The year after their marriage, Susanna published an essay in French on novels as a genre, which was entitled *Réflexions sur les Romans*. There she suggested that modern romantic novels compared unfavorably, both in style and also subject matter, with love stories written by such authors as Heliodorus (*Ethiopica* [featuring *Theagenes and Charicleia*]), Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Clitophon*), and the twelfth-century Byzantine writer Eustathius Macrembolites (*Hysmine and Hysminias*); the only recent novels which she exempted from censure and praised as exemplary were John Barclay's neo-Latin *Argenis* (1621) and Giovanni Francesco Biondi's *L'Eromena* (1640).<sup>29</sup> Otherwise Susanna considered that contemporary novels were too numerous to be of high quality. As far as style was concerned, they were too long and their structure was rambling. Moreover their contents, typically lacking in verisimilitude and erudition, were such as to render them 'vicieux & venimeux' (p. 199 [30]). 'Il me semble, que celà n'est aucunement louable,' she writes,

que la plupart des Romans ne traitent que des vanitez & des fleurettes; comme quand vn pauvre Eclave se met à genoux devant sa Maistresse fiere & orgueilleuse, & ne cesse de soupirer, pleurer, & se plaindre de sa ciuauté. Il envoie vn cartel de defi à son rival. L'object de ses soins plie peu à peu; & après avoir soutenu l'épreuve, il triomphe sur sa pudicité. Voicy le sommaire presque de tous nos Romans, assez capable de dégoûter vn esprit sain, quand même il seroit mieux ménagé. On n'y parle pas seulement de l'Amour honneste & sage, ou d'une passion aveugle, ou de la Paillardise commune; mais, ce qui est horrible, l'Adultere & la Sodomie y veulent paroistre, & tenir le haut bout (pp. 201-203 [32-34]).

Such romantic novels offered only 'malice & vanité' to the reader 'qui...n'a pas le temperament fort, particulièrement la jeunesse mal-avisée' (pp. 203-204 [34-35]). Christians required fiction which was more seemly. 'Il n'est pourtant pas dit', says Susanna,

que tout doive être triste, sérieux, ou spirituel. On peut aimer, railler, & se divertir honnêtement; bien que nôtre devoir envers Dieu nous doive plus inciter (après tant de Romans vains, qui nous doivent causer de l'ennuy) à

<sup>28</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 39-40; Dünninger, 'Johann Ludwig Prasch und Susanna Elisabeth Prasch', p. 175; Höller, 'Bürger als Gelehrte', p. 146. Praschius's first wife, Anna Elisabeth (1641-1682), whom he married in Gießen on 9 July 1663, was the daughter of Johann Otto Tabor (Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 24, 37-39) on whom, see below, p. 275 and footnote 62.

<sup>29</sup> Susanna Elisabeth Prasch, 'Réflexions sur les Romans', in *Texte zur Romantheorie I (1626-1731)*, ed. Ernst Weber (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1974), no. XII, pp. 183-228 (14-59), 574, and 638, esp. pp. 222-228 (53-59); page numbers for all direct quotations cited from this text are given in parentheses immediately after the quotation cited.

entreprendre sur les Principes de l'art vn traité à son honneur, de l'amour mutuel de Jesus-Christ, & de l'Ame fidelle son Epouse (pp. 205-206 [36-37]).

In *Psyche Cretica*, published in Regensburg in 1685, Praschius produced the novel which Susanna envisaged.<sup>30</sup>

Susanna Prasch was not the only one who took a dim view of novels. Long before her time, it was commonplace among neo-Latinists to condemn the genre as a threat to common decency. Thus the Spanish humanist Johannes Ludovicus Vives (1492-1540) deplored novels as 'fabulae licentiosae' which should not be discussed in a serious book on style.<sup>31</sup> The French Capuchin friar Zacharie de Lisieux (1596-1661) wrote a novel of his own entitled *Gyges Gallicus* (1658) in which he told of an ostensibly devout woman who was shockingly well educated in the art of erotic love because she had read about it in novels.<sup>32</sup> And the English Puritan and lawyer, Samuel Gott (1613-1671), suggested in his novel, *Nova Solyma* (1648), that love stories caused readers to make bad marriages or commit suicide or, if they were young men, to fight duels and become homicides or corpses.<sup>33</sup> Gott's, indeed, were fighting words but even as he uttered them, he believed in the moral viability of fiction, even romantic fiction, provided that it was properly conceived. In this view, he had been influenced by Barclay's *Argenis*, the most famous neo-Latin novel apart from Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516).<sup>34</sup> Published in Paris on 31 August 1621, *Argenis* was an immediate best-seller which went through at least fifty-five editions.<sup>35</sup> It was also translated into many European

<sup>30</sup> In *De Fabulis Romanensibus Antiquis et Recentioribus* (Kiel, 1703), Jacob Volckmann (1667-1728) noted that Praschius was inspired to write *Psyche Cretica* by Susanna's comments in *Réflexions sur les Romans* (which she had dedicated to Praschius (Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 39)); see Weber's edition of Volckmann in *Texte zur Romantheorie*, pp. 339-68 (3-32), 586-91, and 641, esp. pp. 353-5 (17-19).

<sup>31</sup> *Companion to Neo-Latin studies. 2: Literary, linguistic, philological and editorial questions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> entirely rewritten edition, by Jozef IJsewijn with Dirk Sacré, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 14 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), p. 241.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>33</sup> Jennifer Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 52 (2003), 237-317 (pp. 268-71). This article also contains a brief survey of Utopian and romantic neo-Latin novels (pp. 237-248).

<sup>34</sup> John Barclay: *Argenis*, edd. and trans. Mark Riley and Dorothy Pritchard Huber, *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae* and Neo-Latin Texts and Translations, 273, 1-2 (Assen, The Netherlands – Tempe, Arizona: Van Gorcum, 2004); see Riley's web site ([www.csus.edu/indiv/t/rileymt/](http://www.csus.edu/indiv/t/rileymt/)) for a list of corrections to the Latin text as printed.

<sup>35</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, 'John Barclay and his *Argenis*: A Scottish Neo-Latin Novelist', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 32 (1983), 1-27 (p. 6); 'Appendix 2: List of Editions', in *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 51-54.

languages including, among others, English, French, German, Spanish and Italian,<sup>36</sup> and several authors were inspired to write their own sequels to it.<sup>37</sup> It is a love story about the princess Argenis, the daughter of King Meleander of Sicily. She is courted by three lovers and the question which drives the romantic plot is which suitor will win her. But the novel is also a political story about how Lycogenes, Meleander's vassal, attempts, unsuccessfully, to rebel against him. Moreover at various points in the fiction, characters pause to consider such political issues as what constitutes the best form of government or what defines the nature of a good king. Specific details in the story are also suggestive of political realities in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>38</sup> and a key was often published with *Argenis* to identify the real people whom the fictional characters were thought to represent.<sup>39</sup> So compelling was *Argenis* as a political fable that Cardinal Richelieu, who was responsible for French diplomacy during the Thirty Years War, was said to have learned his statecraft from it.<sup>40</sup> What Barclay achieved in *Argenis* was to mix two kinds of neo-Latin fiction, the romantic, derived from such ancient sources as Heliodorus, and the Utopian, whose political interest in the ideal state came, via Thomas More, from Plato's *Republic*. The result was to use the charm of romance to teach the important truths of political philosophy to a reader who would be delighted by such instruction even if, as Barclay says, he saw himself accused by the narrative.<sup>41</sup> After Barclay, it became the challenge of choice for such novelists as Gott and Praschius to combine narrative traditions in order to instruct readers as well as delight them.<sup>42</sup> Thus Praschius used the love story of Psyche and

<sup>36</sup> 'Appendix 3: List of Translations', in *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 55-58.

<sup>37</sup> 'Appendix 4: Sequels and Satires', in *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 59-61.

<sup>38</sup> *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 16-22.

<sup>39</sup> 'Appendix 1: The Keys to the Characters of the *Argenis*', in *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 45-48.

<sup>40</sup> *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 21 and n. 40; Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 243 and n. 20.

<sup>41</sup> *John Barclay: Argenis*, I, 334-336 (2, 14, 4-6).

<sup>42</sup> Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 268-270 and n. 89. Because Praschius wrote *Psyche Cretica* in Latin and, in so doing, made ample and expert use of Latin sources, his novel needs to be understood, first and foremost, it seems to me, within the tradition of Latin fiction and the neo-Latin novel specifically, if we are to gain an accurate impression of what his objective was in writing. At the same time, his interest in language and literature went beyond Latin and Greek and it is worthwhile considering what debt he owes to French and German sources in *Psyche Cretica*, on which see: Christiane Holm, 'Die verliebte Psyche und ihr galanter Bräutigam: Das Roman-Projekt von Susanna Elisabeth und Johann Ludwig Präsch', in *Der galante Diskurs: Kommu-*



Cupid as an engaging vehicle for conveying his serious thoughts on the meaning of natural law.

## 2. Natural Law, Grotius, and Praschius.

Natural law pertains to actions that are obligatory in a human being by virtue of the fact that he is human. What constitutes, obligates, and motivates such actions, and how we know, are important questions whose answers, though debated, offer a basis for assessing the conduct of an individual.<sup>43</sup> Given the political and religious contention in Europe in the seventeenth century, it is not surprising that natural law and what it meant were of considerable interest in the period. In 1625, the Dutch, Protestant jurist, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), published *De iure belli ac pacis* in which he observes that human beings are capable of co-existing peacefully and happily with one another because of their nature which is social and rational;<sup>44</sup> even if God, who created man in this way, did not exist,

*nikationsideal und Epochenschwelle*, edd. Thomas Borgstedt and Andreas Solbach, *Arbeiten zur Neueren deutschen Literatur* 6 (Dresden: Thelem, 2001), pp. 53-85 (pp. 71-85). The two seminal articles on Praschius's Latin sources are: Jozef IJsewijn, 'Amour et Psyche dans un roman latin de 1685: La *Psyche Cretica*', in *Hommages à Robert Schilling*, edd. Hubert Zehnacker & Gustave Hentz, *Collection d'études latines: Série scientifique*, 37 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983), pp. 337-45 and Id., 'Vergilio quomodo usus sit Iohannes Ludovicus Praschius in fabula poetica, quae *Psyche Cretica* (1685) inscribitur', in *Quaestiones Vergilianae. Academiae Latinitati Fovendae commentarii*, 5 (1982), 21-29. I am currently preparing an article on evidence in *Psyche Cretica* which suggests that Praschius knew Jean de La Fontaine's novel, *Les amours de Psiché et de Cupidon* (1669).

<sup>43</sup> On the kinds of questions that it is useful to ask in examining natural law, see Knud Haakonssen, 'Hugo Grotius and the History of Political Thought', *Political Theory*, 13/2 (1985), 239-265 (p. 248). On the history of natural law from the Stoics of Antiquity, through the Middle Ages and Aquinas, to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the modern period, see Id., 'Natural Law,' in *Encyclopedia of Ethics*, edd. Lawrence C. Becker and Charlotte B. Becker, 2 vols (New York – London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992), II, 884-890; see also B. F. Brown and S. A. Long, 'Natural Law', in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edd. Thomas Carson and Joann Cerrito, 15 vols (Detroit – New York – San Diego: Thomson/Gale, 2003<sup>2</sup>), X, 179-186. On natural law theory in the seventeenth century specifically, see 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', in Knud Haakonssen, *Natural Law and Moral Philosophy. From Grotius to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 15-62.

<sup>44</sup> *Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis libri tres, in quibus ius naturae et gentium, item iuris publici praecipua explicantur*, ed. Philippus C. Molhuysen, 5 vols (Lugduni Bataavorum: apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1919), I, 5 (*Prolegomena*, 6): 'nam homo animans quidem est, sed eximium animans, multoque longius distans a caeteris omnibus, quam caeterorum genera inter se distant: cui rei testimonium perhibent multae actiones humani generis propriae. Inter haec autem quae homini sunt propria, est appetitus societatis, id est commu-

an hypothesis which Grotius resolutely denies, man's nature, he argues, would still incline him to live together with others.<sup>45</sup> Grotius's view that human nature is social and rational leads him to argue that man has certain rights which he exercises in making human society viable. Among these is his right of jurisdiction over his own person and the members of his family and household, that is his *suum*, and over his property or *dominium* which can be understood as an extension of his *suum*.<sup>46</sup> If one's *suum* or the *sua* of the community in which one lives are unambiguously threatened by the unlawful aggression of an enemy, one has the right to defend oneself by going to war with the enemy for the purpose of restoring peace which, as Grotius says repeatedly in *De iure belli ac pacis*, is the goal of war. Thus for Grotius, as Knud Haakonssen explains, '*Ius naturale* in the strict sense is, then, every action which does not injure any other person's *suum*, which in effect means that it is every *suum* which does not conflict with the *sua* of others'.<sup>47</sup>

Grotius's conception of natural law is noteworthy for two reasons. First of all, he distinguishes natural law from God's law as revealed in Scripture. Although he allows that 'up to a point the Old Testament may be cited as a source for natural law'<sup>48</sup>, he denies that this is true of the New Testament for the latter 'requires a greater holiness on our part than the law of nature alone demands'.<sup>49</sup> Secondly, it follows from Grotius's view

nitatis, non qualiscunque, sed tranquillae, et pro sui intellectus modo ordinatae, cum his qui sui sunt generis'.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 7 (*Prolegomena*, 11): 'Et haec quidem quae iam diximus, locum aliquem habere etiam si daremus, quod sine summo scelere dari nequit, non esse Deum'.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 23 (*Liber 1*, V): 'Facultatem Iurisconsulti nomine Sui appellant: nos posthac ius proprie aut stricte dictum appellabimus: sub quo continentur Potestas, tum in se, quae libertas dicitur, tum in alios, ut patria, dominica: Dominium, plenum sive minus pleno, ut ususfructus, ius pignoris: et creditum, cui ex adverso respondet debitum'.

<sup>47</sup> Haakonssen, 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> Hugo Grotius: *The Law of War and Peace*, trans. Louise R. Loomis (Roslyn, N.Y.: Walter J. Black, 1949), p. 15 (Preface, 48). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 17 (*Prolegomena*, 48)) reads: 'Antiquam legem sunt qui urgent pro ipso iure naturae: haud dubie mendose, multa enim eius veniunt ex Dei voluntate libera, quae tamen cum vero iure naturae nunquam pugnat: et eatenus argumentum inde recte ducitur, dummodo distinguamus accurate ius Dei, quod Deus per homines interdum exsequitur, et ius hominum inter se'.

<sup>49</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, p. 15 (Preface, 50). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 17 (*Prolegomena*, 50)) reads: 'Novo federe in hoc utor, ut doceam, quod non aliunde disci potest, quid Christianis liceat: quod ipsum tamen, contra quam plerique faciunt, a iure naturae distinximus: pro certo habens in illa sanctissima lege maiorem nobis sanctimoniam praecipere, quam solum per se ius naturae exigit'.

of natural law and man's rights that war is lawful in strictly defined circumstances, a proposition whose validity he argues in Book I of *De iure belli ac pacis* on the basis of several kinds of evidence including natural law. 'Nor do right reason and the nature of society', he writes,

which are the second and more important objects of this inquiry, prohibit all use of force, but only that which is hurtful to society, that is, deprives someone of his right. For the end of society is by a common and united effort to preserve to everyone his own.<sup>50</sup>

After citing additional evidence for the lawfulness of war from sacred history, the consensus of all nations that war is lawful, and divine voluntary law, Grotius turns his attention to Christ Himself for further proof; 'if the right of inflicting capital punishment and of protecting citizens by arms against brigands and robbers were abolished,' he argues,

wickedness would run rampant, and the world would be deluged with crimes, since even now, with our constituted law courts, they are with so much difficulty held in check. If then it had been the intention of Christ to introduce such an order of things as had never been heard of, he would undoubtedly, in the most clear and explicit language, have forbidden all capital punishment and all bearing of arms, which we never read that he did.<sup>51</sup>

Having stated the evidence in favor of the proposition that war can be lawful, Grotius then examines counter-arguments whose validity he either contradicts or severely limits. Of particular interest to him is the fifth chapter of Matthew because many arguments against war, as he notes, are based on its contents. Thus of Christ's dictum in verse 38, 'whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also', Grotius contends:

<sup>50</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, p. 26 (I, II, 1). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 37 (*Liber I, II, I, 5*)) reads: 'Recta autem ratio ac natura societatis, quae secundo ac potiore loco ad examen vocanda est, non omnem vim inhibet, sed eam demum quae societati repugnat, id est quae ius alienum tollit. Nam societas eo tendit ut suum cuique saluum sit communi ope ac conspiratione'.

<sup>51</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, pp. 31-32 (I, II, 7). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 47 (*Liber I, II, VII, 6*)) reads: 'Si tollatur ius capitalium suppliciorum, et armis cives tuendi adversus latrones ac praedones, maximam inde secuturam scelerum licentiam et quasi diluvium malorum, cum nunc quoque constitutis iudiciis aegre reprimatur improbitas. Quare si mens Christi fuisset, talem rerum statum, qualis auditus nunquam fuerat, inducere, haud dubie verbis quam maxime disertis ac specialibus edicendum ei fuerat, ne quis de capite iudicaret, ne quis arma ferret; quod fecisse nusquam legitur'.

From this some people conclude that no injury should be resisted or penalty demanded, either in public or in private. Yet the words do not say this, for Christ is not here addressing magistrates but the injured persons. Nor is he speaking of all injuries but only of one like a slap on the cheek, for his last words are a restriction on his general words before (...).<sup>52</sup>

Grotius takes Christ's words in verse 41, 'Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain' to mean

that in matters which will not inconvenience us much we should not insist on our rights but yield more than the other man asks, that our patience and good will may be manifest to all (...).<sup>53</sup>

Grotius then examines Christ's command in verses 43-45:

"Ye have heard that it hath been said: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy.' But I say unto you, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you'."

Grotius acknowledges that 'There are those who believe that both capital punishment and war are incompatible with such love and good will toward our enemies'. However even if 'neighbor' is intended in its broadest sense 'to include all men', he argues,

we need not love all to the same extent, but may love our father more than a stranger. So too by the law of a well-ordered love we should choose the good of an innocent person before that of an evildoer, and the public good before that of an individual. Now the love of innocent men is the cause of capital punishment and of righteous wars (...) The precepts of Christ, then, on loving and helping all men should be obeyed, except as a greater and juster love stands in the way.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, pp. 33-34 (I, II, 8). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 50-51 (*Liber I, II, VIII, 3*)) reads: '*sed caedenti te in dextram maxillam, alteram quoque obverte. Hinc enim inferunt quidam nullam iniuriam aut repellendam, aut vindicandam, sive publice, sive privatim. Atqui non hoc dicunt verba. Neque enim magistratus hic alloquitur Christus, sed eos qui impetuntur; nec de quavis agit iniuria, sed de tali, qualis est alapa, sequentia enim verba restringunt praecedentium generalitatem*'.

<sup>53</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, p. 34 (I, II, 8). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 51 (*Liber I, II, VIII, 5*)) reads: '*Qui angariabit te ad milliare unum, abi cum eo duo: non dixit Dominus de centum milliaribus, quod iter hominem a suis negotiis longius abduceret, sed de uno, et si ita usu veniat de duobus; quae deambulatio quasi pro nihilo ducitur. Sensus ergo est, in his quae nobis non multum sunt incommodatura, non urgendum nobis esse ius nostrum, sed cedendum plus etiam quam alter postulet, ut et patientia et benignitas nostra omnibus innotescat*'.

<sup>54</sup> *The Law of War and Peace*, pp. 34-35 (I, II, 8). The Latin text (*Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 53-54 (*Liber I, II, VIII, 9-10*)) reads: '*Audistis dictum fuisse, Diliges proximum tuum, et odio habebis inimicum tuum: Ego vero dico vobis, Diligite inimicos*

Later in Book I, Grotius comes to a similar conclusion when he considers the implications of the tenet that Christ 'pro inimicis mortuus dicitur'. Grotius argues that Christ did this, not because of any law, but because of a special agreement which he made with His Father to redeem mankind. Observing that Christ's deed was a 'factum quasi singulare, et cui vix quicquam reperiatur simile', Grotius contends that Christ instructed us to put ourselves in the way of danger 'non pro quibusvis, sed pro eiusdem disciplinae consortibus, I Ioan. III, 16'.<sup>55</sup> We shall return to Grotius's interpretation of this passage presently when we examine Praschius's reaction to it. Having made his case for the lawfulness of war and answered the opposing arguments, Grotius proceeds in Books II and III of his treatise to contemplate how war can be waged lawfully and how peace, the ultimate goal of war, can be restored.

Grotius's conception of human nature and what it implied<sup>56</sup> stimulated debate among Protestant natural law theorists as, for example, in Germany. Samuel Pufendorf (1632-94), a law professor at Heidelberg and later at Lund in Sweden<sup>57</sup>, sought to separate natural law and revealed religion; his view of human nature and the basis of morality has been summarized by Haakonssen in the following way:

The basic features of human nature are a constant concern for self-preservation, recognition of one's insufficient ability to provide such security alone, a certain sociability, and a mutual recognition of these features in each other (...) Given such a nature, groups of people will invent a language in which to articulate the recognition of their situation and to deduce

*vestros, benedicite eis qui vos execrantur, precamini pro eis qui infesti vobis sunt et vos persequuntur. Sunt enim qui existimant cum tali dilectione et beneficentia adversum inimicos et infestos pugnare tum iudicia capitalia, tum bella (...) Quod si etiam velis in Evangelica lege maiorem dilectionis gradum imperari, concedatur et hoc, dum illud quoque constet, non omnes aequaliter diligendos, sed magis patrem, quam extraneum. Sic etiam bonum innocentis bono nocentis, bonum commune privato antehabendum ordinatae dilectionis lege. Ex dilectione autem innocentium nata sunt et iudicia capitalia et pia bella (...) Debent ergo Christi praecepta de singulis diligendis atque adiuvandis ita impleri, nisi maior ac iustior dilectio impediatur'.*

<sup>55</sup> *Hugonis Grotii de iure belli ac pacis*, I, 70 (*Liber I*, III, 8).

<sup>56</sup> On Grotius's indebtedness to and difference from scholastic natural law theory, see Haakonssen, 'Hugo Grotius and the History of Political Thought', 247-253. Haakonssen offers an insightful analysis of how Grotius's view of man's social nature and his 'perfect' and 'imperfect' rights differs fundamentally from the 'intellectualist/realist' view of Gregory of Rimini as represented (polemically and therefore somewhat inaccurately) by the Spanish Jesuit Franciscus Suárez in *De legibus, ac Deo legislatore* (1612); see Haakonssen, 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', pp. 19-20 and 29.

<sup>57</sup> For a brief biography of Pufendorf, see the entry on him in *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, XV, 252.

basic rules enabling them to live together and, from these, more particular rules and institutions. Although the root of morals is God's will in choosing human nature as he did, the rest of morals is thus a human creation of which we have "maker's knowledge", that is, demonstrative knowledge.<sup>58</sup>

Of those whom Pufendorf influenced, one of the most important in Germany was Christian Thomasius (1655-1728), a lawyer, philosopher, and professor who taught first at Leipzig and then at Halle.<sup>59</sup> In his earlier works as exemplified by *Institutiones jurisprudentiae divinae* (1688), Thomasius strongly supported Pufendorf's views. Subsequently he reworked his position as he began to question, among other things, the status of natural law *qua* law; thus in *Fundamenta juris naturae et gentium* (1705) Thomasius 'reduces the status of *ius naturae* from one of law proper to that of divine advice or a matter of conscience and stresses the role of positive law and social morality'.<sup>60</sup>

Unlike Grotius, Pufendorf and Thomasius, with the latter two of whom he debated in print<sup>61</sup>, Praschius understood natural law within a theological context which was the view of most orthodox Lutherans of his day.

<sup>58</sup> Haakonssen, 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> For a brief biography of Thomasius, see the entry on him in *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, XVIII, 653.

<sup>60</sup> Haakonssen, 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', p. 45. On Thomasius's reworking of his earlier views, see Knud Haakonssen, 'German natural law', in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, edd. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge – New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 261-267 (pp. 265-267). In addition to being known for his views on natural law, Thomasius is also remembered for the monthly journal of book reviews which he inaugurated in 1688, the *Monatsgespräche*. Written in German, the *Monatsgespräche* was aimed at a popular audience who, Thomasius believed, were as entitled to knowledge as those in the privileged, if fusty, realms of academe where Latin was the requisite language; on the *Monatsgespräche*, see: Friedrich Vollhardt, 'Die christliche Liebe und das Naturrecht der Sozialität: Problembezüge im Werk von Johann Ludwig Präsich (1637-1690)', in *Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft im Barockzeitalter*, ed. Wolfgang Adam, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 28, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), I, 275-287 (p. 275); on the audience whom Thomasius was targeting, see: F. M. Barnard, 'The "Practical Philosophy" of Christian Thomasius', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 32.2 (1971), 221-246 (p. 237). Thomasius is of interest to students of Neo-Latin novels for another reason. Haakonssen points out ('German natural law', p. 267) that he had 'a notable impact on the Norwegian-Danish playwright, historian, essayist, moralist, and cultural icon Ludvig Holberg, who compiled a textbook, mainly from Pufendorf and Thomasius, which helped ensure that natural law became a lasting influence at the University of Copenhagen and as a practical legal instrument'; Holberg was also the author of the neo-Latin novel, *Nicolai Klimii iter subterraneum* (Leipzig, 1741).

<sup>61</sup> On the response of Praschius to Pufendorf's well-known treatise, *De statu imperii Germanici*, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 27-31; for Praschius's dispute with Thomasius, see below, footnote 66.

He had been educated in this tradition by his professors at Straßburg and Gießen, Johann Heinrich Boecler (1611-72) and Johann Otto Tabor (1604-74), respectively<sup>62</sup>, of whom the former was the author of a major commentary on Grotius's *De iure belli ac pacis* published in 1663.<sup>63</sup> In 1688, Praschius wrote a short treatise of his own in response to Grotius entitled *De lege caritatis commentatio, ad Hug. Grotii opus de iure belli et pacis*; in it he argued that *caritas* constituted the natural law defining man. Later in the same year, Praschius wrote a second essay entitled *Designatio juris naturalis ex disciplina christianorum* in which he offered a more comprehensive examination of natural law as it related to man both apart from society ('*jus naturae internum & simplex*') and also within society ('*jus naturae externum & sociale*');<sup>64</sup> in this publication, he reiterated the importance of *caritas* as the basis of '*jus naturae externum & sociale*'.<sup>65</sup> Although both these essays are seminal in demonstrating how Praschius understood natural law, the *De lege caritatis commentatio* focuses more specifically on Christ as the God of Love and thus is more relevant to *Psyche Cretica*; for that reason, it is the subject of the discussion which follows.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 21-22, 24, 27. Praschius's emphasis on theology as the basis for philosophical inquiry was probably also the result of his exposure to the metaphysics of Ernst Daniel Stahl (1585-1654) at Jena, Christoph Scheibler (1589-1653) at Gießen and Kaspar Ebel (1595-1664); see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 25-26. On the orthodox Lutheran view, see also Haakonssen, 'Natural law in the seventeenth century', pp. 35-37.

<sup>63</sup> Werner Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik: Zur Geschichte der praktischen Philosophie im Hinblick auf Christian Thomasius*, edd. Heinz Heimsoeth, Dieter Henrich and Giorgio Tonelli, Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, 3 (Hildesheim – New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), p. 66.

<sup>64</sup> *Jo. Ludovici Praschii Designatio Juris Naturalis ex Disciplina Christianorum* (Ratisbonae: sumtu et litteris Hofmannianis, 1688), capp. IV-VI, pp. 12-17; on the distinction which Praschius is elaborating here, see Vollhardt, 'Die christliche Liebe und das Naturrecht Sozialität', 282. For bibliographical information on the text, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 206, no. 78; Dünhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3225, no. 134.1. The text can be accessed online in the 1688 edition at: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography/pl.html>.

<sup>65</sup> *Designatio Juris naturalis ex Disciplina Christianorum*, capp. VII-VIII, pp. 17-23.

<sup>66</sup> *De lege caritatis commentatio* and *Designatio iuris naturalis* immediately attracted the attention of Thomasius who refuted Praschius's views in the *Monatsgespräche*. Praschius gave his response to Thomasius in three pieces, published in 1689, all of which, in keeping with his opponent's preferences, were written in German; see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 30; Vollhardt, 'Die christliche Liebe und das Naturrecht der Sozialität', 282-284 and 287. Praschius's three treatises, numbered 80-82 in Dachs's catalogue (p. 206), were entitled: *Joh. Ludwig Praschens Klare und gründliche Vertheidigung Des Natürlichen Rechts Nach christlicher Lehre wider H. Christian Thomasen Anfechtungen* (Regen-

Praschius locates the basis of natural law in the precept, 'Deus est obsequio colendus', as he states in his dedicatory letter to Henricus Avemannus which accompanies *De lege caritatis commentatio*.<sup>67</sup> God revealed His law to Adam and Eve, '*primi ac praestantissimi mortalium*' (p. A2v), who violated His prohibition when they ate of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. After their transgression, man continued to disobey God '*naturae vitio*'. Then God informed man of His law again when He gave Moses the Decalogue on Mount Sinai. Finally Christ became man '*ut cum naturâ legem in integrum restitueret*'. Praschius borrows a passage, which he attributes to Gennadius Scholarius ('*in Confessione fidei ad Agarenos*'), to explain the theology:

Credimus (...) quod quando voluit Deus per solam misericordiam suam convertere homines à deceptione daemonum & cultu idolorum (quoniam, praeterquam in exiguo loco Judaeorum, in quo adorabatur & credebatur unus Deus ex lege Mosis, reliquus universus terrarum orbis venerabatur creaturas male, & multos deos, qui tamen nulli sunt, loco unius & veri, & vitam degebant secundum proprias quisque cupiditates, non secundum DEI legem) tunc fecit DEUS hujusmodi restaurationem hominum per Verbum, & per Sanctum Spiritum suum: & propterea verbum DEI induit humanam naturam, ut tanquam homo cum hominibus versaretur, tanquam vero Verbum Dei & Sapientia doceret homines credere in unum & verum Deum, & vitam instituire secundum legem, quam ipse dedit: atque iterum ut homo, ut daret suae vitae rationem exemplum doctrinae suae: primus enim ipse servavit legem, quam dedit hominibus (pp. A2v-A3).

The law which Christ demonstrated and required of His followers is *caritas* as Christ, Himself, taught when He said (John 13:34): 'Mandatum novum do vobis: Ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis

spurg: Bey Johann Georg Hofmann, 1689); *Sendschreiben an Herrn Joachim Feller/ betreffend Herrn Christian Thomasen Meinung vom Gesetz der Liebe* (1689); *Kurtze Gegen-Antwort auf Herrn Thomasii Einwürffe* (Regensburg, 1689); for further bibliographical information, see Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3225-3226, nos. 136 and 138-139.

<sup>67</sup> Jo. Ludovici Praschii de *Lege Caritatis Commentatio, ad Hug. Grotii Opus de Jure Belli et Pacis* (Ratisbonae: sumtu et litteris Hofmannianis, 1688), p. A2v. Page numbers for all subsequent citations from this text will be given in parentheses in the main body of the article immediately following the citation; Praschius's words are printed in italics in his dedicatory letter (pp. A1v-A3v) which accompanies *De lege caritatis commentatio* and direct quotations are printed in roman; I have reproduced this when quoting from the dedicatory letter. For bibliographical information on the text, see Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 206, no. 77 and Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3223, no. 130.I.1. The text can be accessed online in the 1688 edition at: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/bibliography/pl.html>.



invicem'.<sup>68</sup> Praschius tells us that Christ wisely calls His commandment 'novum':

non quod olim sic non fuerit, sed quia Christus praesens summâ suâ auctoritate, luce, & exemplo renovavit, impendio vitae docuit, facileque reddidit donis suis (VI, pp. 15-16).

Thus *caritas* is an expression of the same eternal law of God as revealed in the Old Testament. Praschius gives the following five reasons for identifying *caritas* with natural law:

Quod enim (1.) omnes obligat, non potest alio referri, quam ad jus naturae. At praecepta Dei moralia (in quibus caritas) omnes obligant, teste Ecclesiaste, c.12.v.13, & Paulo, 1. Tim.1.v.5. (2.) DEUS est *agape*, I. Joh.4.v.7. Atqui homo conditus est ad imaginem Dei. Naturâ igitur factus ad amandum. (3.) Saltem hoc concedes, teneri cognatos ad amorem mutuum. Jam vero inter omnes homines cognationem quandam natura constituit. Propius, remotius, ab unâ stirpe omnes sumus. Quod apposite explicat Seneca, Ep. 96 (4.) Et nonne lex moralis, repetitio est juris naturalis? Rom.2.v.14.15. Unde & Hebraei jus naturae nominant *mores*, Seldeno teste. At diserte vocat Paulus dilectionem (...) *impletionem legis*, Rom.13.v.10. *Nemini, ait, quicquam debete, nisi hoc, ut alii alios diligatis: nam qui diligit alterum, legem implevit*, v.8.& versu seq. (...) praeceptorum legis vocat *illud*, *Diliges proximum tuum, sicut te ipsum*. Quod pulcre convenit cum doctrinâ magistri, Matth.22.vers.37.38.39.40. (5.) Quoties denique Cicero in Officiis (ut alios transeam gentiles Sophos) caritatis meminit? veluti cum dicit lib. I. *Cari sunt liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est*. Unde hoc illi notum? non ex lege naturae? nonne caritas vinculum universi est (V, pp. 14-15)?

The view that Praschius takes of *caritas* leads him to conclude that war, except in the case of defense, cannot be justified:

bellum quamvis justum, extra defensionis terminos, gerendum sit cum vicino, cum affini, cum Christiano, & ejusdem quidem coetus, contra stipulatum pacis aeternae. Quo sanctius hîc & numerosius vinculum, eo flagrantius debeo studere bello praevertendo, vel moderando, vel finiendo aequis legibus. Ne poenitentia queri cogat cum Latino: *vincla omnia rupi: arma impia sumsi*. Virg. Aen.1.12 (IX, p. 20).

War among Christians is especially reprehensible because Christians, by virtue of their faith, form one body of Christ:

<sup>68</sup> Praschius refers to this passage in John only by chapter and verse (VI, p. 15) but does not quote the text. I quote here from the Vulgate (which is not the Latin text that Praschius uses when he cites scripture).

Una quippe omnibus sanctissima Fides, geminum Sacramentum, sacra in omnibus Trias; cum qua & comparatur istaec unio, Joh. 17 v.21.22. Unius patris filii sumus: una spes haereditatis. Anima & corpus unum efficiunt individuum: sic nobis unus obtigit Spiritus, & in S. Synaxi unus panis: *ita multi unum corpus sumus, quia omnes de eodem pane* (qui est *communio corporis Christi*) *participamus*, 1.Cor.10.v.16.17. ne de Agapis veterum dicam (X, pp. 21-22).<sup>69</sup>

He who harms the least of Christians, harms Christ Himself; this transgression is repeated a thousand times in war:

Exhorresceres, puto, si laesae majestatis divinae, si violati conviciis vel pulsati Christi reus fieres. At hoc facit, qui Christianorum minimum laedit, teste ipso Christo, Matth. 25.v.45. Act.9.v.4.5. Jam quid de illis dicam, qui totos populos Christianos bellis vexant, spoliunt, trucidant? nonne millies (horrendum dictu) Jesum occidunt (X, p. 22)?

Moreover, while *caritas*, as an active principle, '*proximum non afficit malo*, Rom. 13 v. 10', its passive aspect is patience which '*malum tolerat* (quod est difficilius, quam non dare malum, aut facere bonum) ac omnino, exemplo Christi, ad mortem usque durat' (XIII, p. 26). Thus, argues Praschius, a Christian, far from engaging in war, should be prepared to lay down his life, not only for his brothers, but also, after Christ's example, for his enemies.

Praschius's view that natural law is *caritas* and that war (especially among Christians) is essentially indefensible differs from Grotius's position on several counts. Praschius criticizes Grotius for the distinction that he makes between the Old Testament and what he (i.e. Grotius) calls the '*maiores sanctimoniam*' required by the New Testament (II, pp. 9-10); the latter, says Praschius, does not demand greater holiness than the former for both record the same law of God which is '*perennis scilicet, immutabilis, necessaria...*' (p. A2). Praschius also castigates Grotius for his failure, as he sees it, to understand that *caritas* is natural law. The natural law of which Grotius writes (i.e. the natural law which permits war) pertains to corrupt nature, not nature as redeemed in Christ:

Potest ergo sane dici, differre caritatem (ut in sacris litteris explicatur) à jure naturae, sed corruptae: quod solum tradit Grotius ex professo (...) Non ergo

<sup>69</sup> Praschius uses a similar (Pauline) metaphor in *Designatio iuris naturalis ex disciplina christianorum*, cap. VIII, p. 23: 'Ita nempe societas, uti corpus humanum, se habet: in quo nequitiam separatae sunt membrorum rationes. Alterum pro altero, ut se ipso, quibusque periculis se objicit, quocunque valet modo. Reclamat lingua, dentes mordent, obsistunt manus, pugnant & pedes'.

rectus juris naturalis magister est Grotius, quia sequitur naturam corruptam. At spectanda ex integritate suâ res est. Quis curet jus naturae depravatae, postquam plenâ luce radiat jus naturae integrae (III, p. 11)?

Praschius is particularly troubled by what he considers the legalistic interpretation which Grotius gives to the tenet that Christ died for his enemies. 'At honestum nempe, non necessarium, putavit Grotius, id factum sequi', observes Praschius:

Quamobrem? Quia [and here he quotes Grotius] *Christus id not fecit ex lege aliqua, sed ex speciali pacto & federe inito cum Patre; qui si id faceret, non modo summam ei gloriam, sed & gentem in aeternum duraturam promisit, Es.53.v.10. Satis hoc dilutum, & indignum Grotio est. Quasi id quaereretur, an Christus fecerit ex lege; non, an Christi actio haec sit nostra institutio (XIII, p. 28).*

Praschius deplores the depiction that he takes Grotius to be offering of Christ and *caritas*. 'Absit ergo, statuamus Christum', he writes to Avenarius,

*vel peccati ministrum, vel asperiores Mose, & novum quasi Draconem. Qui fuit error magni Grotii. Itaque mirum non est, hypothesi illâ occupatum identidem offendisse, nec de lege caritatis omnium tenerrimâ exacti quicquam potuisse tradere (pp. A3-A3v).*

The 'error' that Praschius has in mind here is evidently Grotius's claim that war is neither forbidden by Christ nor entirely inconsistent with *caritas*. Praschius concludes his essay with the exhortation that we accustom ourselves to *caritas* which comes to us from God. The fruits of peace can never be looked for from men immersed in the world; they call themselves Christians, even though they are not Christians, for they are lacking in the love by which a Christian is defined:

Assuescamus igitur saltem caritati: quae *ex Deo est*, I. Joh. 4.v.7 (...) Quare aliter multo, quam profanus, exercet eam Christianus. Exercet enim crebrius, uberius, laetius, ex habitu supernaturali, ad finem supernaturalem, per gratiam, lumen & efficacitatem Spiritus Sancti. *Caritas Dei*, inquit Apostolus, *effusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum, qui datus est nobis*, Rom.5.v.5. Frustra igitur ab hominibus mundo immersis pacificos ejus fructus expectaveris. Destituuntur enim Spiritu amoris, hoc est, Christiani non sunt, quamvis se dicant esse, vel superlativo gradu (XIV, p. 31).

Thus for Praschius peace is the object not of war, as Grotius maintains, but of *caritas* by which a Christian is defined; the Christian who stands for war is a contradiction in terms.

### 3. Natural Law, Apuleius, and Topoi of Fiction in *Psyche Cretica*.

A brief synopsis of the plot of *Psyche Cretica* is in order before we consider *how* Praschius uses his fiction to communicate his views on natural law. The novel opens as Theophrastus, an aged prince of Athens, goes hunting in a wood not far from the city. Drawn to a cave by a magnificent stag, he sees there a man about to kill a girl. He shouts at the man to stop. The villain does so and flees. Theophrastus and the girl return to Athens as she explains the cave scene. Identifying herself as Psyche, a princess from Crete, she reveals that she loves Cupid from whom she is estranged because she wronged him. After her separation from the God of Love, a robber in Crete named Cosmus twice attempted to despoil her chastity. She eluded him and fled with kindly merchants to the vicinity of Athens where she sought refuge in a cave. There Cosmus discovered her again and was about to kill her when Theophrastus interrupted. As Psyche ends her story, Theophrastus vows to re-unite her with the God of Love. Book II of the novel, set in Athens, is built on a series of *ekphra-seis* which illustrate Cupid's love for Psyche and her increasing love for him. Book III begins with a digression as Theophrastus tells Psyche about three Athenian philosophers who cannot agree: Ietius, Elurthus, and Lucianus. Then Cosmus reappears and snatches Psyche. She calls upon Cupid to save her. He responds by killing Cosmus. Sick with love for Cupid, Psyche wastes away bodily until the God of Love sends her wings on which she flies to heaven. Such is the story that Praschius uses to explore his central theme.

Natural law, which Praschius equates with *caritas*, requires Christians to love God and each other. If they obey this precept, they will live amiably together in a spirit of peace and mutual co-operation; failure to obey is a violation of both God and man.<sup>70</sup> This is the prevailing theme of *Psyche Cretica* and it is articulated from different perspectives in each of the three books comprising the text. Thus in Book I, human nature is explicitly defined as social and loving. When Theophrastus converses with Psyche as they make their way to Athens, he regrets that she has no mate and

<sup>70</sup> Cf Praschius's comment in *Designatio iuris naturalis ex disciplina christianorum*, cap. IX, pp. 25-26: 'Jussit Deus caritatem, praecepit omnibus; quia non singulos homines, sed societatem egregiam & constantem & sibi quodammodo similem destinavit. Illam violari, si quis suum commodum alterius commodo praeferat, neque ad hoc ei dari jus, si alter prius illam in me violaverit, aut violare paret (quasi non sufficeret, ab uno delinqui) apertum est'.

has experienced neither the joy nor the rewards of love. 'Natura certe nos finxit sociales', he says, 'et, ut Graii loquimur, syndyasticos (21, 2-3)'.<sup>71</sup> Psyche agrees that 'non amare (...) est, exuere hominem' (21, 7-8) and she immediately challenges those who annihilate the 'laeta Amoris sata' (21, 9-10\*) in war to recognize the veracity of her claim. The actions of Theophrastus and Psyche, as they become acquainted, further demonstrate the social and loving propensities of human nature. Theophrastus, who is happily married to Clearista, has no licentious designs upon Psyche when he rescues her. His motivation is altruistic; he wants to save her life and her honor from the incipient depredations of Cosmus and he takes no thought for his own well being when he shouts at the armed assassin. Once he has rescued Psyche, he speaks to her in gracious words which emphasize her worthiness and deprecate his own achievement in saving her (9-10). He offers her friendship and the hospitality of his home (16), and giving her a horse to ride (15), he leads her from the wilderness of her solitary cave to Athens where people live together 'aequis legibus' (52, 10) and there are altars dedicated to the God of Love (53). As they make their way there, Theophrastus invites Psyche to tell him her story, not out of prurient curiosity, but because he has observed her great sadness and, as he tells her, 'Solari equidem miseros, inter miseras didici' (19, 2-3\*). Psyche, for her part, is equally practiced in the decorum of friendship.

<sup>71</sup> Jo. Ludovici Praschii *Psyche Cretica* (Ratisbonae: Typis Jo. Georgii Hofmanni, 1685) (Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 202, no. 34; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3207, no. 46.I.1, where the date of the *editio princeps* is wrongly given as 1674 [cf. Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur: Hundert Personalbibliographien Deutscher Autoren des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1980-1981), II: *Zweiter Teil: H-P* (1981), 1465, no. 96, where the date is correctly given as 1685]). Copies of the *editio princeps* are found in Göttingen, *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek*; London, *British Library*; Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*; and the Vatican; see Jozef IJsewijn, 'Amour et Psyche', 337, n. 1. For an edition of the text, see Marie-José Desmet-Goethals, 'Iohannis Ludovici Praschii Ratisponensis *Psyche Cretica*: Edition du texte avec une introduction sur le roman néo-latin', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 17 (1968), 117-156. *Errata* in Desmet-Goethals's text were corrected by IJsewijn, 'Vergilio quomodo usus sit Iohannes Ludovicus Praschius', 29. I cite *Psyche Cretica* from Desmet-Goethals' edition as emended by IJsewijn; the two numbers given in parentheses after quotations from the text refer to section (i.e. page number in the *editio princeps*) and line in Desmet-Goethals's edition; an asterisk indicates that the passage has been corrected by IJsewijn. I suggest the following emendations to the text: 'frondibus' for 'frontibus' (54, 9); 'si sine diis fuisses' for 'sine diis fuisset' (83, 4); 'non' should be added before 'posthaberetur' (111, 3); 'rapietis' should probably replace 'raperis' (118, 8) since Psyche is not carried off to Heaven until the end of the story and therefore a future tense seems preferable. An electronic edition of *Psyche Cretica* by Mark Riley is available on his web site at: <http://www.csus.edu/indiv/r/rileymt/>.

Calling Theophrastus her 'alterum parentem' (9, 6), she thanks him sincerely for rescuing her and offers him the gift of her trust when she tells him that her love is the God of Love.<sup>72</sup>

In Book II of the novel, the theological basis of *caritas* is explored through a series of *ekphraseis* which we shall examine in greater detail presently. The *ekphraseis* serve to conflate Christ's identity as the God of Love with that of Cupid by connoting the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist as well as Christ's sacrifice for mankind in His Crucifixion. In contrast to the lonely wilderness of Book I, the setting of Book II offers the cultivated refinement of a garden and the social occasion of a banquet, which Theophrastus has arranged in honor of his guest.

Book III of *Psyche Cretica* uses a thinly veiled allegory to argue that *caritas* is the solution for the public problem of religious contention, which continued to exist in Germany in the later seventeenth century.<sup>73</sup> Appropriately the setting of the novel changes from the private space of Theophrastus's home to the public forum of the road leading to the Piraeus. As they follow this road, Theophrastus tells Psyche of the troubling differences which exist among three Athenian philosophers, Elurthus, Iactius, and Lucianus, whose names, outside the fiction, signify Luther, Jesuit, and Calvin respectively.<sup>74</sup> Although Theophrastus supports

<sup>72</sup> Praschius regards friendship as definitive of human nature and at the basis of society. In *Designatio iuris naturalis ex disciplina christianorum*, he identifies an 'amicus' as an 'alter idem' (VI, p. 16; cf. Cic., *Lael.*, 80) and argues that the principle of 'abdication sui' lies at the foundation of viable society following the example and mandate of Christ (VIII, p. 20): 'Primum vero caritatis, sive iuris naturalis, caput est, *abdication sui*. Diximus supra, naturam jus dedisse cuique ad se suaque servanda, extra scilicet societatem. At in societate & contentione cessat illud jus ex lege caritatis, praevallet respectus socialis. Quae remissio iuris quasi proprii, *abnegatio sui* à Legislatore dicitur. *Si quis me vult sequi, ait, abneget semet ipsum, & suscipiat crucem suam*, Matth. 16.v.24'. Cf. Praschius's view as stated here with Grotius's view of man's right to protect his *suum* (see above, pp. 272-273). The characters in *Psyche Cretica* who are capable of friendship demonstrate the authentic, loving, and social nature of man; such villains as Cosmus and his associates (i.e. a witch and the devil Philotimus) are incapable of friendship, and thus society, and provide a model of behavior which is the antithesis of what it means to be human; on the witch and Philotimus, see below, p. 294.

<sup>73</sup> See above, p. 2 and n. 4.

<sup>74</sup> IJsewijn, 'Amour et Psyche', p. 338; as IJsewijn points out, names expressed as anagrams are typical of such neo-Latin *romans à clé* as *Argenis*. It is also interesting to note that the anagram which Praschius uses for Luther's name, 'Elurthus', is very close to the Latin name that Luther began to use for himself ca 1517, 'Eleutherius', which means 'the free one' (Martin Marty, *Martin Luther* (New York – London: Viking Penguin, 2004), p. 32).

the cause of Elurthus for reasons that he gives in only the most general of terms (111-119), he argues for peace among the three disputants. 'Nec id Jupiter sinat,' he entreats, 'ut saevire falce, et animi errorem capite plectere iubeamus' (110, 1-2). Sounding very like Praschius in *De lege caritatis commentatio*, he tells Psyche that error should, indeed, be fought but with learning and the battle array of words 'quae depromta ex Amoris tui armaturâ videatur' (110, 7). Psyche agrees with her host but goes even farther than he does in emphasizing the importance of love whose lack, she suggests, is the basis of moral failure in human beings. 'Ut haec video,' she says,

perimi facile possent lites, omniaque in meliorem statum reponi, si homines, ad exemplum meae philosophiae, Amoris sacra ferrent. Sed hoc accipias velim, non de sacris exterioribus, non de unguentis, sertis et coronis, verum de oblatione mentis. Intereunt vitia, diffugiunt errores, ubi Amor regnum tenet. Postremo non in una sede commorantur Eris et Eros. Parata sum ostendere, si iusseris, in quolibet errore, in quolibet vitio mortalium, peccati rationem ex defectu amoris aliquid trahere. Sed hoc accedit molestissimum, quod, qui discrepant sententiis, se invicem acerrime oderunt, maloque afficiunt, quos vel miserari debebant, vel audire et amplexu iungere. Quamobrem primum ego sapientiae decretum habeo, odisse neminem; proximum, verâ fide omnes diligere, superos primum, inde mortales (119, 7-120, 9).

Her belief that the first law of wisdom is 'to hate no one and the next law to love everyone in good faith, first the gods, then mankind,' closely echoes the answer which Christ gave the Pharisee who asked Him what commandment in the law was the greatest:

Ait illi Iesus: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum, et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. (Matth. 22: 37-39).

Thus Cupid and Christ are united in the 'Amoris sacra' on which Psyche bases her moral philosophy of *caritas*.

The passages in Books I and III which contain explicit statements about man's social and loving nature demonstrate the thematic importance of *caritas* in *Psyche Cretica* and show, at the same time, how Praschius, like Barclay and Gott, was able to speak to serious contemporary issues within the framework of a romantic novel. The *ekphraseis*, which carry the theme in Book II, are, in addition, a *topos* of the genre and, as such, encourage us to consider *how* Praschius adapted the literary patrimony to his argument. The novel was not the first literary form that Praschius

used in writing about natural law. He had already explored the subject earlier in *Astrea* (1681), a collection of pastoral poems written in German.<sup>75</sup> But the novel must have struck him as a genre that was particularly appropriate to *caritas* because it offered him both useful *topoi* through which he could articulate his theme and also a love story on which to base his fiction.

Apuleius's account of *Amor* and *Psyche* as told in the *Metamorphoses* (4, 28-6, 24) gave Praschius the premise for his story especially as it is expressed by *Psyche* in her flashback at the end of Book II where she gives Theophrastus an account of her relationship with Cupid (90-106). Thus in both novels, *Psyche* is wafted on Zephyr's breeze to the palace of her betrothed who is the God of Love. He visits her nightly under cover of darkness for she is not allowed to see him. Her wicked sisters (or sister in Praschius's version) encourage her to violate this prohibition by using an oil lamp to illuminate her love while he sleeps. She is also advised to arm herself in case her betrothed proves to be a monster whom she will have to slay. *Psyche* heeds this counsel and looks upon the god but as she does so, a drop of burning oil from her lamp accidentally falls onto his shoulder and awakens him. He sees that *Psyche*, armed with a weapon, has disobeyed him and he flies away. It is now *Psyche*'s steadfast purpose to be reunited with Cupid, which happens after she endures a period of suffering. As the story ends, *Psyche* is translated to heaven to live in perpetual bliss as *Amor*'s wife.

The relevance of this story to Praschius's theme of *caritas* is self-evident. Cupid, as the God of Love, connotes Christ, while *Psyche*, his beloved, whose name means 'soul' in Greek,<sup>76</sup> represents the human soul

<sup>75</sup> Dachs, 'Leben und Dichtung', 31, 137-152, and 200, no. 22; Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien*, V (1991), 3213, no. 70; Vollhardt, 'Die christliche Liebe und das Naturrecht der Sozialität', 284-286.

<sup>76</sup> Names in Greek with a meaning that functions ironically or allegorically in the text are a commonplace in neo-Latin novels as, for example, *Utopia*, on which see: Jennifer Morrish, 'A Note on the Neo-Latin Sources for the Word 'Utopia'', *Humanistica Lovanien-sia*, 50 (2001), 119-130 (p. 119); Paul Turner, *Thomas More: Utopia* (London – New York: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 8. Volckmann, *De Fabulis Romanensibus Antiquis et Recentioribus*, pp. 354-355 (18-19) remarks on the allegorical significance of the Greek names in *Psyche Cretica*; for other examples of contemporary readers who understood the allegorical relevance of the names, see Holm, 'Die verliebte *Psyche* und ihr galanter Bräutigam', p. 73. *Psyche*, the Soul, tells Theophrastus at the beginning of the novel that 'dono numinis, cui devota sum, immortalitatem mihi contigisse; accipi tamen vulnera, et metus mortis, et pereuntium tormenta possunt. Quae si mortalibus eveniunt, in levi sunt habenda: finem enim cum vita capiunt. At demto fine ista perpeti (quod in me cadit)



whom Christ loves. Just as Psyche is conveyed to heaven because of Cupid's love for her, so, too, is the human soul redeemed through Christ's love and granted immortal beatitude. It is unlikely that the patrimony of Latin fiction could have offered Praschius a more apposite scenario for his central theme than the one which Apuleius gives him.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, it is worthwhile observing the subtle changes that Praschius introduces into his source to make it even more pertinent to *caritas*. For example, Psyche in Apuleius does not, in fact, know that her lover is Cupid until she sees him in the lamplight. The feature of her psychology which prompts her to look at him while he sleeps is what Cupid calls her 'sacrilega curiositas' (5, 6), a flaw in her character that she neither examines nor corrects for she gives way to it again later in the story when she opens Proserpina's forbidden jar of beauty (6, 20-21). Once separated from Cupid, and facing the implacable opposition of Venus to her love for him, Psyche hopes to recover the God of Love by surrendering to his mother (6, 5). To placate Venus, Psyche performs a series of increasingly arduous tasks. As she does so, she repeatedly despairs and threatens suicide (6, 12; 14; 17) although help, which she never anticipates, is always forthcoming. When Venus tells her that Cupid is the clandestine source of this help (6, 11; 13), Psyche neither reflects nor comments upon what this implies about the nature of his love for her. The pair are reunited when Cupid comes, unbidden by Psyche, to save her from the Stygian

an non ipsâ morte gravius est?' (11, 3-8). Thus in spite of her immortality, Psyche, in keeping with the *topos* of the separation of the lovers (see below, pp. 288-289 and footnotes 78-79) is frequently depicted as about to face death for refusing to yield to her assailant, Cosmus.

<sup>77</sup> Praschius was not the only neo-Latin novelist in the seventeenth century to use Apuleius's *Amor and Psyche* as a source. Samuel Gott was inspired by it for the old wives' tale that he tells in *Nova Solyma* on which see: Jennifer Morrish, 'Fiction, Morality, and an Old Wives' Tale in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 54 (2005), 285-320. Other seventeenth-century authors writing in vernacular languages also drew on Apuleius's *Amor and Psyche* as a source as, for example, Siegmund von Birken in his play *Psyche* (1652) and Jean de La Fontaine in *Les amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (1669); see Holm, 'Die verliebte Psyche und ihr galanter Bräutigam', pp. 71-2. Additional adaptations of Apuleius's *Amor and Psyche* in modern European vernaculars are listed by Michel Jeanneret, *La Fontaine: Les Amours de Psyché et de Cupidon* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1991), pp. 272-274. In English, a series of writers were indebted to Apuleius's *Amor and Psyche* as, for example, Shackerley Marmion in *Cupid and Psyche* (1637), John Keats in *Ode to Psyche* (1819-20), William Morris in *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-70), Walter Pater in *Marius the Epicurean* (1885), Robert Bridges in *Eros and Psyche* (1885), and C. S. Lewis in *Till We Have Faces: A Myth Retold* (1956); see 'Cupid and Psyche', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. Margaret Drabble (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000<sup>6</sup>), p. 250.

sleep contained in Proserpina's jar (6, 21). Thus in Apuleius's telling of the tale, Psyche's nature is loving and her love for Cupid is genuine but it inspires no trust in her that he is as eager as she is to re-establish the relationship that they have shared.

In contrast to her Apuleian proto-type, Psyche Cretica *does* know who her betrothed is even before his first nocturnal visit and well before she sees him in the lamplight because she is told of his identity three times in dreams and Cupid, himself, sends her a letter inscribed, 'Eros Psy-chae', in which he declares his love and states his intention of coming to her and presenting her with his bow (95, 11-97, 3). In response, Psyche beseeches him at his altar to fulfill his promise as soon as he can. Thus although she is persuaded to look upon Cupid by her sister Cacodocia, whose Greek name means 'curiosity', Psyche identifies the nature of her transgression more accurately when she tells Theophrastus, 'omnis mihi constantia excidit' (104, 7-8). This loss of her faith was a violation of her nature as a rational and loving being because, in spite of sound evidence that her betrothed was *Amor* himself, she ignored what both reason and love required; in acting upon her sister's false allegations, which she herself had at first refuted, she hurt both herself and the god who loved her as she loved him. So clearly does Psyche understand the nature of her infraction, that to spill burning oil on Cupid's wing becomes her metaphor for wrongdoing. Thus, as an advocate of *Amor*'s precepts for banishing contention and promoting peace, Psyche tells Theophrastus in Book III that there is no one whom she would willingly hate or harm, for to do so would be to strike *Amor* himself and to torture him again 'oleo ardente' (122, 4). Having once acknowledged her error and taken responsibility for it, Psyche is henceforth true to her nature, never wavering in her love for Love and committing herself to his service (25, 1-5). When her sister Sarcis, whose Greek name means 'the flesh', tries to frustrate her devotion by forcing unwanted suitors upon her, Psyche, like Penelope, uses her wits to devise a stratagem to avoid them (17, 7-18, 4; 20, 3-7). Disguising herself as a Bacchante, she escapes to the wilderness, where she hopes to serve *Amor* without further distraction. When the robber, Cosmus, finds her there and proposes marriage, she is not deceived by his 'insolens comitas' (29, 6) but cunningly traps him in a pit so that she can evade his unwanted advances (32, 5-33, 3). When he escapes and, bent on despoiling her honor, pursues her, Psyche vigorously protects both her chastity, the emblem of her fidelity to *Amor*, and her life, which she never threatens to end by suicide in any of her tribulations (37, 8-42, 8; 44, 6-

45, 6).<sup>78</sup> While Psyche lodges with Theophrastus, she comes to the realization that her success to that point in warding off Cosmus is due to *Amor* whose love for her remains such that, although he is absent from her physically, he nevertheless abides with her spiritually and protects her in every trial that she faces (82, 11-83, 8).<sup>79</sup> The ultimate proof of her love for him is demonstrated when, caught by Cosmus for the last time in a situation from which there seems to be no escape, Psyche places her trust in the God of Love and calls upon him to save her, which he does, thereby proving his power to redeem the faithful soul (136, 3-10).<sup>80</sup> Once reunited with Cupid, Psyche pays tribute to him by engraving the story of how he helped her on a plaque of bronze in which she identifies the essence of his love for her as *caritas* 'QUOD PECCANTI NON DEDISSET MALUM, NON CLAUSISSET ANIMUM SUUM' (140, 1-3).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Suicide is a *topos* of romantic fiction which such writers as Samuel Gott considered harmful to readers (see, above p. 269 and note 33). In *Designatio juris naturalis ex disciplina christianorum*, Praschius argues that both '*prima naturae* (quae sunt caritas quaedam naturalis, & appetentia sensus)' and '*lex naturae*' compel an individual to protect his body and soul which he has on loan from God: 'Neque enim sibi ipse haec contulit, sed à Deo accepit redditurus, ceu talentum foeneratorium, adeoque eâ lege, ut in gloriam domini servet atque ornet' (V, pp. 13-14). By removing the suicide *topos* from his version of Psyche's story, Praschius makes his heroine obedient to both natural law and also her god. For examples of the suicide *topos* in fiction, see Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 307, n. 158.

<sup>79</sup> The separation of lovers is a *topos* of romantic fiction according to which, as soon as the heroine is separated from her beloved, the villain of the piece, usually a robber or a pirate, threatens her chastity. She endeavors to protect herself not only in self-defense but also because of her fidelity to her lover. What is interesting in Praschius's use of the *topos* is that Psyche (and the reader) learn part way through the story (83, 5-8), and then more fully at the end (139, 6 – 141, 2), that it is *Amor* who has enabled her to defeat Cosmus successfully when she thought she was fighting him alone. Thus Praschius (following Apuleius) both uses the separation *topos* and simultaneously denies it. He uses it to lend interest to his plot through the conflict and suspense generated by Psyche's dilemma; he denies it to show the powerful efficacy of a relationship founded on the mutual love defined by his theme of *caritas*. For other examples of the separation *topos* in Latin and Greek fiction, see: Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 307 and n. 156.

<sup>80</sup> Unlike Apuleius's Psyche, who proves her love for Cupid by the tasks she completes for Venus, Praschius's Psyche wins Cupid back through faith and not works. The emphasis on faith and not works as relevant to salvation is Lutheran, on which see Marty, *Martin Luther*, p. 27, 38-40, and 77-79. This is one of several details in Praschius's story which give it a Lutheran cast; for others, see below, footnote 88.

<sup>81</sup> Plaques containing texts that are apposite to the author's theme are a *topos* in neo-Latin fiction. Other examples occur in Barclay's *Argenis*, Gott's *Nova Solyma*, and in *Christianopolis* (1619) by J. V. Andreae; for details, see: Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 271-272 and n. 93.

The way in which Praschius refashions Psyche to make her character more relevant to his theme of *caritas* is paralleled in the changes that he brings to Cupid. In Apuleius, Cupid falls in love with Psyche by accident when he disobeys Venus's command to make her become enamored of the most miserable wretch 'per totum orbem' (4, 31) and falls in love with her himself (5, 24). Venus despises Psyche because her beauty rivals her own and because she is worshipped on earth as a surrogate Venus thus depriving the goddess of the rites that are her due (4, 30). Consequently Cupid fears both Venus's reaction to his disobedience, should she learn of it, and also the possibility that naïve Psyche will inadvertently publicize their relationship, should she discover who he is. To protect Psyche, their relationship, and, last but not least, himself from the ill-will of his mother, Cupid keeps his identity a secret; predicting that their love affair will end if Psyche sees him, he forbids her to look upon him (5, 6). The lovers, who are not married, engage in a nocturnal relationship that is sexual and Psyche becomes pregnant with their child, a daughter who will be called 'Voluptas' (5, 11; 6, 24). When Cupid is awakened by the drop of burning oil and discovers that Psyche has looked upon him, he is hurt both physically and emotionally. Taking little thought for her feelings, he tells her that by falling in love with her, he disobeyed Venus and acted 'leviter' (5, 24). He vows to take vengeance on her sisters for their meddling but tells Psyche that he will punish her 'fuga mea'. With that, he flies away to his mother's house to heal his injured wing, ostensibly leaving Psyche, still undelivered of their child, alone to face her uncertain future. Although Cupid's love for Psyche proves lasting and he sends her secret help to complete her tasks for Venus, he never gives her a clear sign of his devotion until he saves her from Proserpina's Stygian sleep. Then finally prepared to declare his love for her openly, but still fearing Venus's hostility, Cupid appeals to Jupiter for help (6, 22). Jupiter responds by declaring before the gods that his wayward son, known 'ob adulteria cunctasque corruptelas' (6, 23), needs now to be shackled by the restraint of matrimony since 'Puellam elegit et virginitate privavit'. Then Jupiter orders Mercury to bring Psyche to heaven where he grants her immortality. The wedding ensues in heaven as the story ends. Thus in Apuleius's comic portrayal, Cupid is an immature and self-centered god whose erotic response to Psyche develops only later into a profounder love so that he is prepared to commit himself to her, in spite of his mother, and to become an honest husband, albeit at the insistence of his father (6, 22).

Praschius's *Amor* is quite different than this. To begin with, he falls in love with Psyche, not by accident, but through his own volition for, as Psyche later tells Theophrastus, he is 'Diligens artis suae' (23, 10). Although Psyche describes his courtship in terms of his kisses, his embrace, his sweet voice and his ambrosial fragrance (97-98), she also emphasizes his respect for her honor. Before visiting her for the first time, Cupid seeks her permission in the letter he sends her in which he assures her that he will not come 'ut Iupiter ad Semelen' (96, 8); consequently their relationship is not sexual and Psyche is not pregnant with an illegitimate child. Since she knows that her lover is Cupid, the requirement that she refrain from looking upon him, although a prohibition, is more aptly understood as the terms required of her in the agreement that she has with him, which also obligates him to let her see him in a year's time (98, 8). When Psyche looks upon *Amor* prematurely, he is hurt both physically, from the oil of the lamp, and also spiritually, from her failure of faith, but instead of reprimanding her or taking the vengeance which Psyche says is his due, he utters a mournful lament and flies away 'verbo citius' (105, 6). It is Psyche who concludes that he has deserted her, a mistaken impression which she corrects when she receives unambiguous signs from him of his steadfast love as, for example, a cloak of royal purple that he leaves with Theophrastus to give to her (58, 11-60, 11). When Psyche calls upon him in her final confrontation with Cosmus, he comes immediately, having already bent his bow and positioned his arrow against the villain (136). He later tells Psyche of the preparations underway in heaven for the marriage of a 'bella Cressa' (142, 10) and a god, who are, of course, themselves, for as Psyche records in her tablet of bronze, *Amor* has chosen her 'IN PERPETUUM VITAE CONSORTIUM' (139, 10). As the novel ends, he sends her his very own wings 'purpurâ tinctae' (154, 8) on which she is conveyed to the immortal gods in whose number she is henceforth to be reckoned. In creating this version of *Amor*, Praschius has transformed Apuleius's boyish god of erotic love into a mature god whose chaste love, in keeping with the *caritas* which is definitive of Christ's nature, is deliberate, selfless, and unconditional.

As Psyche's adversary, Cosmus assumes the part played in Apuleius's story by Venus to whom Praschius alludes once as Cupid's nurturing mother (94, 3-8) and explicitly mentions only three times. Late in the story, *Amor* is prepared to yield Psyche temporarily to Cosmus because, knowing that he is about to slay him and rescue her, he is aware that everything is happening 'Veneris instinctu' (134, 1). When Psyche survives her last

encounter with Cosmus, Cupid indicates that now Venus will consider her a worthy companion for a god (137, 8-9) and, as the story ends and Psyche is about to receive Cupid's wings, Venus, we are told, has judged her worthy of heaven (154, 5). Thus Praschius transforms Apuleius's malevolent Venus into a minor but providential character who, if an exacting judge of Psyche's spiritual integrity, is, at the same time, fair in her assessment of it. The reason why Praschius depicted Venus as he did may partly be explained by the contradiction, which would have arisen if, in a novel recommending *caritas*, the goddess of love was the opposite of loving. Moreover by casting the robber Cosmus as his villain, Praschius makes apposite use of a prominent *topos* in fiction to illustrate the antithesis of *caritas*.

Robbers are useful characters in fiction for, since they are assumed to live outside the laws of society, their *mores* can be compared, either positively or negatively, to convention. To this end, robbers are often depicted in certain set ways. Sometimes they are noblemen in disguise, like Thyamis in Heliodorus's *Ethiopica* or Tlepolemus in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, who stand on the side of moral good. Sometimes, although unambiguous outlaws, they demonstrate honor among thieves, like the robbers in Apuleius's darkly comedic story who refuse to kill their wounded general, Lamachus, even though he is slowing their escape (*met.*, 4, 9-11). But sometimes the robbers are pure villains, like Milo in Gott's *Nova Solyma*, who not only intends to loot the plunder of his brothers in crime but also tries to kill innocent prisoners.<sup>82</sup> Cosmus, who has most in common with the third typology, is neither intelligent nor social and thus he is totally deficient in the *caritas* by which the God of Love and human nature are defined. Cosmus lives in the wilderness apart from society which is founded on the reciprocity of its participants and governed by laws. Even by the standards of other fictional robbers, who are usually portrayed as living in remote areas in bands, Cosmus is starkly anti-social for, like the Cyclops to whom Psyche compares him (31, 7), he lives alone. He is a thief who intentionally earns his living by stealing from others. So elemental is his lawlessness and so limited his capacity for moral thought that it never occurs to him that one inhabiting the countryside could have any motive other than rapine. Thus when he finds Psyche living alone in the wilderness because of her devotion to Cupid, he mistakes her nature and falsely assumes that she, too, is a robber and

<sup>82</sup> [Samuel Gott], *Novae Solymae Libri Sex* (Londini, Typis Joannis Legati, 1648), I, 45-54.

therefore an apt mate for himself (29, 4-5). When Psyche, declining his offer of marriage, upbraids him for his corrupt way of life, he neither acknowledges his error, nor shows contrition for it, nor promises to correct it; on the contrary, he vigorously defends his predatory profession with a sophisticated argument which is not devoid of truth. 'Quis latronum tam cruentus umquam et avidus fuit,' he asks Psyche, 'ut aequaret illas caedes, illa spolia, incendia, damna, quae vel una dies per caussam iuris gentium infert?' (30, 6-9). Cosmus's specious suggestion that his lesser wrong is legitimized by a greater one does not invalidate his premise that war, even if fought in accordance with international law, is wrong, a view which the pacifist Praschius makes all the more conspicuous by articulating it through the unlikely voice of his villain.<sup>83</sup> If even Cosmus can acknowledge the wrong of war, then war must be very wrong indeed. Cosmus further defends himself from Psyche's scorn by arguing, somewhat inconsistently, for his reason is flawed, that great kings recognize his worth because they hire him to fight for them as a mercenary (30, 10-31, 3). Cosmus is not original in identifying outlaws with soldiers. The robbers in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* regularly refer to themselves as soldiers and to their leader as their general. Moreover the association is made mordantly anti-war in More's *Utopia* when Hythlodæus observes that thieves and soldiers have much in common: 'Quin neque latrones sunt instrennui milites, neque milites ignauissimi latronum, adeo inter has artes belle convenit'.<sup>84</sup> It is More's tone that Praschius echoes in *Psyche Cretica* and, given his experience of the Thirty Years War and its aftermath, it comes as no surprise when we read in his description of hell that those whose cries there are the loudest because their torments are the greatest are the soldiers (132, 3).

To his depiction of Cosmus as a robber and a soldier, Praschius also adds a mythological pedigree whose allegorical implications differentiate his villain still more from the God of Love and Psyche. Unlike *Amor*,

<sup>83</sup> As noted, above, pp. 272-273. Grotius argued that war was sanctioned under *ius gentium* and therefore capable of being lawful, on which see: *Hugonis Grotii de iure belli et pacis*, I, 30 (*Liber I*, XIV, 1-2); *The Law of War and Peace*, p. 23 (I, I, 14).

<sup>84</sup> *Utopia*, edd. Edward Surtz, S.J. and J.H. Hexter, p. 62, I, ll. 26-27. Grotius notes that 'when soldiers capture anything, not in battle or in some enterprise under orders, but while doing something by unspecified right or by permission merely, they acquire it directly for themselves, since they capture it not in the capacity of servants. Such are spoils wrested from an enemy in single combat. Such too are things captured on free and volunteer excursions away from the army — more than ten miles away, the Romans said, as we shall see later' (*The Law of War and Peace*, p. 312 (III, VI, 12)).

whose father is Jupiter and whose ancestral home is heaven whither his steadfast love will lead Psyche, Cosmus is a descendent of Dis (27, 9-10) who, as king of the underworld, is suggestive of Satan in hell. Cosmus is thus a diabolical incarnation of the snares of the World whose name he bears, and the only patrimony which he can offer Psyche is infernal. Equally hellish is his motivation in pursuing her, a combination of lust and the thirst for revenge, in which he wrongly feels justified because she has refused his proposal of marriage and defended herself against his attempts on her chastity and her life. The impotence of Cosmus's uncharitable passion is suggested in part by his inability to pursue Psyche without the help of depraved minions — an aged witch from Thrace with a magic mirror whom he defrauds of her fee and subsequently tries to kill (37, 8-38, ), and Philotimus, an underling from hell, who busies himself with creating wars on earth for Pluto's delectation (127, 6-9). But far more powerful signs of the inefficacy of Cosmus's brutal nature are his failure to extinguish Psyche's love for *Amor* and his death when pierced by *Amor*'s arrow, 'non ex aureis illis ac vitalibus, sed plumbeis lethiferisque' (136, 7). The moral of the story is that nothing can withstand the weapons 'irati Amoris' (136, 9) or, one might add, his power when he loves and is loved. Praschius's romantic fiction thus shows that *caritas*, which defines *Amor* and the soul, is not only stronger than the thievish world's brutality but is as incompatible with it as heaven is with hell. It follows that war is unworthy of human nature.

*Ekphrasis*, a rhetorical device which Greek writers of the Second Sophistic favored, is a *topos* in both ancient and neo-Latin novels. It refers to a detailed description of a place, a work of art, or a wide range of other subjects.<sup>85</sup> An *ekphrasis* highlights a writer's rhetorical flair in placing a vivid, verbal picture before the eyes of his reader; in novels, *ekphrasis* are also often relevant to the theme or other aspects of the narrative. Praschius builds Book II of *Psyche Cretica* around a series of *ekphrasis* that he uses both to identify the law by which human nature is governed and also to equate Christ with *Amor* as the God of Love. The *ekphrasis* begin with a description of the garden where Theophrastus takes Psyche in order to fan the flames of her love for Cupid. From the entrance to the garden,

<sup>85</sup> For a fuller discussion of *ekphrasis* and relevant bibliography, see Morrish, 'Virtue and Genre in Samuel Gott's *Nova Solyma*', 281-286.



bina porrigebantur ambulacra, connexis per artem frondibus<sup>86</sup>: quorum alterum, densissimâ obsaepum viriditate, umbram faciebat aestuantibus; alterum, la/xius et laetius vestitum, auream admittebat lucem (54, 8-55, 2).

The paths are distinguished 'appellationibus veteris ac novi' (55, 3). At the beginning of the new path, 'fons se offert e marmore Pario, Cupidine gemmeo insignis, vivâ ludens aquulâ' (55, 8-10\*). Psyche, charmed by this emblem of her love, drinks from the fountain and, washing herself in it affirms, 'Aut haec, aut nulla...lympha crimen piabit' (56, 9-10). Later, at a banquet, Psyche is reminded of Cupid again when she sees confections stamped with his likeness and a silver wine dispenser,

nec levis ponderis, Amorem aureum sustinens, ita positum, ut arcum intenderet ori virginis. Ex hoc tamquam fonte, non lympha, sed merum purpureum, quinque saliens venis, erumpebat (71, 5-8).

Theophrastus invites Psyche to drink the wine, 'ne sanguinem/ perdat fidus amans, qui totus esse tuus vult' (71, 10-72, 1). The next day, he shows her some wall paintings, one of which depicts Cupid, hanging from a tree, 'ad ramos deligatus' (88, 9). As Praschius's contemporary readers understood, the old and new paths in the garden signify the Old and New Testaments,<sup>87</sup> both of which, according to Praschius, transmitted the precepts by which human nature was defined; although Praschius venerates the moral value of both as divinely sanctioned, he calls the New Testament 'laxius' and 'laetius' because the 'lux aurea' which it admits is Christ's law of *caritas*. The water of Cupid's fountain represents the sacrament of Baptism by which one is made a member of Christ's Church and His body and rendered eligible for eternal life, His loving gift, for which the baptismal water, as Psyche acknowledges, cleanses the soul. The confections impressed with Cupid's image, and the wine which Psyche is invited to drink, connote the sacrament of the Eucharist which commemorates Christ's loving sacrifice for man's salvation. The five veins in the statue of Cupid are the five wounds which Christ received on the cross and the God of Love who hangs on the tree is the crucified Christ who died to redeem mankind. What Praschius has provided in these *ekphraseis* is a pictorial account of the theology of *caritas* whose essence he conveys without ever having to state it explicitly or disturb the engaging pagan veneer of his fiction.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> 'frontibus' in *editio princeps*.

<sup>87</sup> E. g. Volckmann, *De Fabulis Romanensibus Antiquis et Recentioribus*, p. 355 (19).

<sup>88</sup> On the Christian symbolism, see IJsewijn, 'Amour et Psyche', p. 345; see also Holm, 'Die verliebte Psyche und ihr galanter Bräutigam', p. 79. It is worth noting that the empha-

Praschius's *ekphraseis* of hell and heaven, which appear in Book III of *Psyche Cretica*, are also worthy of note because of their relevance to the social implications of *caritas*. Hell is described when Cosmus orders Philotimus to go there on his behalf and ask Pluto's permission for him to take Psyche from *Amor*. Thus hell is tied to Cosmus's intent to dissolve a legitimate and appropriate bond between lovers. Such antipathy to the mutual good will, which unites human beings in love, harmony and peace, is the hallmark of hell which encourages the opposite response. The road to hell is 'prorum atque praeceps' (128, 7) and leads to immense and gaping jaws which offer no hope of redemption to the unfortunate travelers who fall into them. Hell does not lack inhabitants but there is no sense of community among them. On the contrary, whether god or soul, they long for nothing more ardently than freedom from each other and the place, for hell 'nullâ amplitudine vel sublimitate, pro tanto incolarum agmine, insignis est' (129, 6-7). Thus its inmates stand in each other's way and are a reciprocal burden. Because the sun, which affirms life, is distant from hell, 'nox et terror' (130, 7) pervade everything there. Even the light of hell's unforgiving flames is too subtle to be seen by those burnt who first feel the relentless fire 'mortis quadam perpetuitate' (130, 5-6). There are no sounds of harmony in hell but only the ceaseless lamentation and discordant wailing of those suffering diabolical punishments of which the mildest category 'omnem humanae saevitiae modum, qui quidem cogitari potest, transit' (131, 6-7). The anguished cries of the soldiers betray the hypocrisy of hell for the wars which brought them there were instigated by such devils as Philotimus. Heaven, by contrast, 'in immensam extenditur amplitudinem' (144, 2) and its ethereal summit is crowned with Jupiter's palace, a mansion which ascends so high 'ut nullus assequatur visus' (144, 10). Each soul living in heaven has his own residence whose construction emphasizes the cohesiveness of celestial society for the houses are connected to each other and penetrable on all sides; the ones which are the loftiest, because of the moral stature of their inhabitants, abut upon the palace of Jupiter himself. The good which

sis which the *ekphraseis* place on the Old and New Testaments as well as the sacraments of Baptism and Communion, the latter complete with wine for Psyche who is not a priest, is Lutheran. Luther considered Scripture sufficient to communicate Christian precept, on which see: Marty, *Martin Luther*, pp. 6, 17, 21, 83-84. Moreover, he believed that Baptism and Communion alone qualified as sacraments and that, with regard to Communion, the laity as well as priests should be given wine in addition to bread, on which see: Marty, *Martin Luther*, pp. 55-56, 59-62, and 112.

every citizen did on earth is recorded on tablets in heaven and Virtue, made manifest to the eye, 'divinâ suâ pulchritudine mirifice omnes trahit' (146, 1-2). The citizens of heaven sing when they speak 'omniaque ad symphoniam peragunt' (146, 4). Heaven is flooded with light, for those who live there are 'meri Hyperiones' (146, 5) whose combined radiance stupifies the eye. But perhaps the most powerful sign of heaven's unified efficacy is the way in which the gods there collaborate to prepare for the marriage of Psyche and *Amor* as *Amor*, in the guise of Mercury, reveals to Psyche:

Tum, quo splendore in coelo nuptiae apparerentur bellae Cressae, uti Bac/chus cum Cerere ambrosium curaret epulum, uti thalamum divinum adornaret unguentatis manibus Hebe, uti coronam auro solidam sceptrumque gemmeum caelaret Mulciber, uti solium praecelsum ostro insterneret Iris, uti vestem nive candidiorem e Serum vellere nerent Parcae, et occurrere triumphanti parent mille Cupidines, stupefactam edocuit (142, 9-143, 6).

In his *ekphraseis* of hell and heaven, Praschius not only provides his readers with arresting images of antithetical moral landscapes; he also implies that hell and heaven are correlative to the conditions which people create on earth. Thus those who are antagonistic to one another lack *caritas* and experience an earthly hell whose quintessence is discord, suffering, and death as, for example, in war; but those who love the God of Love and one another lead a heavenly life defined by the reciprocal good will, harmony, and peace of which a joyous wedding celebration is an emblem. Praschius's point is that a society based on *caritas* is not only more appropriate for man, given his nature, but also eminently more viable than the alternative.

So far, we have looked in detail at how Praschius adapts his source in Apuleius and such *topoi* of fiction as the robber tale and *ekphrasis* to his theme of *caritas*; we have noted in passing that he also shapes the *topoi* of suicide, the separation of the lovers, and the engraved wall plaque to his thematic purpose.<sup>89</sup> To end his story, he transforms another commonplace of the tradition into a parable which illustrates the inherent need of human beings to love one another. Love sickness is often described in tales of romantic love as, for example, in Apuleius when Pan diagnoses the ailment in Psyche who, abandoned by Cupid, has just attempted to drown herself. 'Puella scitula,' Pan says to her,

<sup>89</sup> For the latter three *topoi* see, above, footnotes 78 (suicide), 79 (the separation of the lovers), and 81 (the engraved wall plaque).

sum quidem rusticanus et upilio, sed senectutis proluxae beneficio multis experimentis instructus. Verum si recte coniecto, quod profecto prudentes viri divinationem autumant, ab ipso titubante et saepius vacillante vestigio deque nimio pallore corporis et assiduo suspiritu, immo et ipsis maerentibus oculis tuis, amore nimio laboras (*met.*, 5, 25).

Pan is representative of the tradition when he attributes such physical traits in Psyche as her unsteady gait, her pallor, her sighing and her tears to a surfeit of unfulfilled love. When Praschius's Psyche returns to Crete at the end of the novel, she exhibits similar physical symptoms. Thus, as the narrator says of her:

Nec iam dapes, nec somnus, non amici illi curae./ Nihil erat in terris, unde decerpere voluptatem vellet. Vix adeo curare corpus, vix necessarium ei cultum dare. Etiam rarius visebatur in publico. Sensit nutrix, animadvertitque, genas alumnae totumque corpus infestâ macie exedi, in diesque magis cadere (149, 10-50, 4).

Although Psyche explains her malaise as the result of *Amor's* propensity 'extenuare et absumere clientes' (150, 6-7), her nurse understands her physical decline as a moral catharsis which lightens her soul so that it can ascend to heaven on Love's delicate wings. 'Neminem in coelum evolare nosti,' she tells Psyche,

nisi Amoris alis. Sed hae perquam leves sunt ac pueriles, nec aut crapulâ aut fastu tumens corpus, aut avaris divitiis grave, nullum denique terreum onus ferunt. Ceterum altitudine immensâ polus a terrâ seiungitur: quam qui vincere volatu cupit, prius in nihilum fere attenuandus est. Pondere enim praepediti ac defessi, more Icaro relabuntur: ut praestet, vias illas non tentare. Itaque variis casibus malisque et occultis cruciatibus dolantur pii: donec imminuto corpore, expediti coeloque habiles reperiantur (151, 2-10).

The suffering which purges an individual of any tendency towards gluttony, pride and avarice also instructs him in forbearance so that his reaction to the injury done to him by others will be patience rather than a desire for revenge. 'Dolor, qui sequitur laesos,' says Psyche's nurse,

instrumentum est, quo atterimur: hac quasi falce inutilia brachia luxumque ponimus. Iam, quamdiu saevit in pectore dolor, et ultionem spirat audetque, nondum sufficiens coelo tenuitas credenda est' (152, 5-8).

Such forbearance as suffering teaches is an essential part of *caritas* as Praschius writes in *De lege caritatis commentatio*:

Quid est autem Patientia Christiana? Et haec subijcitur caritati, sicut etiam Humilitas. Dilectio *omnia suffert, omnia sustinet*, I.Cor.13.v.7. Nisi quod caritatem in agendo, patientiam (ut ipsum nomen indicat) in patiando magis cerni, dicere possis (XIII, p.26).

The model for such forbearance is 'Christus (...) qui diligere nos jussit inimicos, pro inimicis & impiis mortuus est, Rom. 5.v.6.10' (XIII, p. 27). Implicit in the argument that Praschius is making in both *De lege caritatis commentatio* and also through the fictional voice of Psyche's nurse is that war as a response to injury is worthy of neither *caritas* nor heaven. Thus in his treatment of the *topos* of love sickness, Praschius differs from many other authors who include it just because it is a commonplace of erotic love or for comic effect. Praschius has used love sickness to explore the problem of human suffering and to locate it within the moral context of *caritas* and the pacifism that it requires.

When Susanna Prasch wrote of her dissatisfaction with the novels that she was reading in 1684, she expressed her wish for a good book that would tell the story of Christ's love for the Soul, His faithful bride. Susanna was not looking for a tedious novel weighed down with too much somber piety. She wanted something engaging, something witty, a novel that would use the art of good writing to instruct and delight. *Psyche Cretica* fulfils these requirements admirably and Susanna must have been very gratified when she read it. But *Psyche Cretica* is far more than a charming and refined story about the spiritual triumph of two lovers. It is an investigation of love in its broader sense of *caritas*, the trait which Praschius considered definitive of God and man. Thus, in his view, man is not simply a social and rational creature, as Grotius suggested, but, more importantly, a loving creature whose nature is inconsistent with war. What allowed Praschius to take a love story from Apuleius and turn it into a powerful recommendation for peace was the neo-Latin novel, its tradition and its *topoi*, a genre whose details he had mastered and whose narrative advantages he used with consummate skill.

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WINNIE THE POOH IN LATIN.  
OR HOW TO PUT DELIGHTFUL ENGLISH INTO  
EQUALLY ENJOYABLE LATIN\*

Il sorriso era diventato troppo raro durante le lezioni di latino  
(A. Lenard)

*Voor Rayo en Juan*

Present-day Latin literature is quite a curious phenomenon. It is, presumably, the last phase in a history which began more than 2000 years ago. Its main characteristic is that it *is* curious and that it is fully aware of being so. As is well known, Neo-Latin literature can be divided into two main phases. The period before about 1800 can be called humanistic and, in a second stage, post-humanistic or academic. Latin literature played a role in literary and intellectual society, although this importance was ever diminishing as a consequence of the development of literature in the vernacular and the rise of French as a new international and universal language. With the rise of Romanticism and the idea that one can express oneself fully only in one's native tongue, a first halt was called to literature in Latin, but it continued to be an important language in scholarship and in the Catholic church. Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, its importance in scholarship has been waning fast, and with the admission of the vernacular into Roman Catholic liturgy by the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, Latin started a serious decline in its last fortress. To this lamentation must be added the continuous losses Latin has suffered at schools: in some countries Latin has even been put out of its misery completely.

At the same time, however, a small group continues to write Latin. Some people even still propagate the use of Latin as a universal language,

\* I should like to thank David Money (Cambridge) for his trouble to correct my English, and Dirk Sacré (Leuven) for his valuable suggestions.

others write only some (occasional) pieces of verse.<sup>1</sup> Latin has grown to be a pastime, to be enjoyed by a group of a very happy few, but without any social or cultural meaning or importance as such. In fact, Latin has even become a toy, and – most curious to say – it has even regained some popularity in that quality. This is clearly shown in the rise of a new genre in Latin literature, which is typical for 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin production, viz. the translation of popular classics of non-serious nature, i.e. of comics and of children's books.

Of course, translations from the vernacular into Latin have been part of Neo-Latin culture for a longer period: already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was considered a challenge to translate modern poetry into classical Latin forms. The difference between that older production (which, by the way, is still in use) and the production meant here lies in two fields. First, the nature of the translated work: instead of literary poetry or prose a more playful genre. Secondly, there often is an additional pedagogic intention, which links this production to some extent to the well known genres of the *colloquia familiariora* or school drama.

One of the first examples of this genre is formed by the various translations of the German children's book *Max und Moritz* by Wilhelm Busch.<sup>2</sup> Here one can see various tendencies in writing contemporary

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jozef IJsewijn – Jacqueline IJsewijn-Jacobs, *Latijnse poëzie van de twintigste eeuw*, De bladen voor de poëzie, 9-10 (Lier: De bladen voor de poëzie, 1961); Anna Elissa Radke, *Alaudae. Ephemeridis nova series*, fasciculus primus, Noctes Neolatinae, 5 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: Olms, 2005); *Musae saeculi XX Latinae. Acta selecta conventus patrocinantibus Academia Latinitati Fovendae atque Instituto Historico Belgico in Urbe Romae in Academia Belgica anno MMI habiti*, edenda quae curaverunt Theodoricus Sacré et Iosephus Tusiani iuvante Thoma Deneire, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome Bibliotheek – Bibliothèque de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 58 (Brussel – Bruxelles – Rome: Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome – Institut Historique Belge de Rome – Istituto Storico Belga di Roma, 2006).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Max et Moritz facinora puerilia septem dolis fraudibusque peracta ex inventione Guilelmi Busch poetae pictorisque in sermonem latinum conversa a versificatore sereno*, translated by Gotthold Adalbert Ludwig Merten (München: Braun & Schneider, 1932; reprinted in *Max und Moritz Polyglott* (München, 1982)); *Mus et Mopsus. Facinora puerilia septem a Guilelmo Busch depicta atque conscripta, denuo Latine reddita ab Augusto Padberg-Drenkpol* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939: no copy known; partly reprinted in *Societas Latina*, 8 (1940), 16-19); *Wilhelm Busch: Max et Moritz*, ins Lateinische übertragen von Erwin Steindl, mit den Zeichnungen von Wilhelm Busch (Zürich: Artemis, 1954; 4<sup>th</sup> edition 1981); *'Max et Moritz, sive septem dolos puerorum pravorum quos pictos enarravit Guilielmus Busch latine vertit Otto Schmied'*, *Tiro*, 5-6 (1958-1959), second version in *Alindethra*, 10-14 (1964-67); *Maximi et Mauriti malefacta ab Hugone Henrico Paoli Latinis versibus enarrata* (Florentiae: Le Monnier, 1959; Bern: Francke, 1960); the version by Alexander Lenard (cf. note 11); *'Max et Moritz. Seu historia puerorum lepida septem jocos continens, quos excogitavit Guilelmus Busch, primo latine reddidit Magister Nicolaus'*, ed. by Karl Ludwig

Latin: some translations follow classical metre and form, other ones try to follow the original more closely. *Max und Moritz* was in a certain sense the battlefield on which the genre of translation of these playful works into Latin experienced its various forms. Particularly in Germany, this has led to a renewal of medieval Latin poetic forms, with rhyme and with less attention for prosody. This equally reveals another characteristic of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin, viz. a somewhat freer attitude towards classical forms and literary usages. In 1950 a Latin translation of Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* saw the light as *Pinoculus*, translated by Enrico Maffacini (Firenze: Marzocco, 1950; various reprints): it was the first Latin translation of a children's book in prose and would be followed by many more.<sup>3</sup> More recently, we have also seen some translations into Latin of popular comic-books<sup>4</sup>, such as *Asterix*<sup>5</sup> or *Suske en Wiske (Bob et Bobette)*<sup>6</sup> and my list is far from complete.

Even in recent years, this process has been going on. Terence Tunberg translated various American children's books into Latin: *How the Grinch Stole Christmas in Latin* and *The Cat in the Hat in Latin*.<sup>7</sup> The Latin

Weitzel, Tiro, 16-17 (1969-70); Wilhelm Busch, *Max und Moritz auf lateinisch*, translated by Franz Schlosser, Reclam-Universal-Bibliothek (Ditzingen: Reclam Verlag, 1993). Except for the last version, all have been listed in Manfred Görlach (ed.), *Wilhelm Busch. Max und Moritz. Eine Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen. In deutschen Dialekten, Mittelhochdeutsch und Jiddisch* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1982), pp. 173-174.

<sup>3</sup> A second translation of this Italian children classic was published by Ugo Enrico Paoli, *Pinoculus Latinus* (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1962). Lenard knew this translation.

<sup>4</sup> In general on Latin translations of comic-books see: Herbert Verreth, *De Oudheid in strips* (s.l., s.a.), pp. 59-61; A. Cheyns – D. Xhardez, *Bande dessinée et enseignement des langues anciennes* (Bruxelles, 1997); Antoon van Hooff, *Vademecum voor de leraar klassieken*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1999), pp. 101-103; 'Comics', in *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, XIII A-Fo* (Stuttgart – Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1999), cols. 658-671 (lemma by K. Geus, M. Haase and B. Eickhoff).

<sup>5</sup> Translated by Rubricastellanus (= Karl Heinrich Graf von Rothenburg). The series, starting in 1973, is almost complete: 23 albums have been published. These include all albums published after the death of R. Goscinny in 1977, but a number of albums produced by Goscinny and A. Uderzo together have not yet been translated: apparently it was the translator's wish to follow the publication of new albums first. The numerous allusions to classical literature make reading of these albums more difficult for young latinists than one might guess. J. Molina had already published two volumes in black and white in Murcia in 1968: *Asterix Gallus* and *Asterix et falx aurea*, probably for educational purposes, on a small scale. Cf. Verreth, *De Oudheid in strips*, pp. 59-61.

<sup>6</sup> Under the name of *Lucius et Lucia: De secreto gladiatorum* (Antwerpen: Standaard – Studio Vandersteen, 1990) and *De larva Hispana* (Antwerpen: Standaard – Studio Vandersteen, 1997), both translated by Roland Dehamers. Cf. Verreth, *De Oudheid in strips*, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Terence O. Tunberg, *Quomodo invidiosulus nomine Grinchus Christi natalem abrogaverit: How the Grinch Stole Christmas in Latin* (Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci



translation of one of the best-known children's books in Dutch (*Jip en Janneke* by Annie M.G. Schmidt) by Harm-Jan van Dam under the title *Jippus et Jannica*, first published in 2000, became the best selling text in Latin in the Netherlands of all times.<sup>8</sup> This commercial success is another typical (and curious) feature of this genre of present-day Latin literature. On the other hand, *Jippus et Jannica* never will have success outside the Netherlands, simply because the original is unknown. *Jip en Janneke* is so terribly Dutch in character, that it melts down the moment it crosses the border: in that sense, this kind of Latin literature sometimes lacks the universality which often is invoked as an argument for the use of Latin. More recent still are the Latin translations of *Harry Potter* and of *Die Häschenschule* (by Albert Sixtus).<sup>9</sup> Often these books are claimed to have some pedagogic interest, which seems foremost an apology for their creation, but at the same time their popularity derives rather from the curious interest of the combination of a lighthearted very modern classic with a language that is perceived as dreadfully serious. In fact, there seems to be a curious contrast, not to say a yawning gap, between the flourishing of this kind of literature and the attention it receives from the public on the one hand, and the position of the subject matter of Latin and Greek at schools and universities on the other side.

All these features are found once more in the only Latin language book to grace *The New York Times* best-seller list, the Latin translation of one of the most delightful children's books in history, A.A. Milne's *Winnie the Pooh*. Pooh's Latin translator, Alexander Lenard, was a man of many activities, but he was not a professional Latinist. Another curious element of late 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin is the fact that the most important authors are not professionally involved in Latin, as the Italian-born New York pro-

Publishers, 1998); Dr. Seuss – Jennifer Morrish Tunberg – Terence Tunberg, *Cattus petasatus: The Cat in the Hat in Latin* (Wauconda, Ill.: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Annie M.G. Schmidt, *Jippus et Jannica*, vertaald uit het Nederlands door Harm-Jan van Dam (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij, first – third editions 2000). Its classification as a children's book ('kinderboek' in the 'Jeugdsalamander' series) seems slightly over-optimistic.

<sup>9</sup> *Harrius Potter et philosophi lapis* (New York – London: Bloomsbury USA Children's Books – Tra edition, 2003) and *Harrius Potter et Camera secretorum*, translated by Peter Needham (New York: Bloomsbury USA Children's Books, 2007); *Lepusculorum schola*, Latin translation by Hermann Wiegand (Neckarsteinach: Edition Tintenfaß, 2007).

fessor of Italian literature Joseph Tusiani. Alexander Lenard or Lénárd Sándor was born in Budapest in 1910.<sup>10</sup> Just after the First World War, his family moved to Vienna, where Alexander studied at the Theresianum and the gymnasium of Klosterneuburg (just north of the city). Afterwards he studied Medicine at Vienna university. In the summer of 1938, just after the Anschluß, he emigrated from Austria to Rome. Here, among other things, he would serve as a physician at the Hungarian Academy in the Via Giulia. After the Second World War return to Hungary was made impossible by the rise of communism and the Iron Curtain and Lenard emigrated to Brazil. He died in 1972. Apart from various poems and books both in German and Hungarian, Lenard wrote some other Latin poems which were published in the collection *Viva Camena* and he translated *Max und Moritz*<sup>11</sup> and *Bonjour Tristesse* by Françoise Sagan (*Tristitia salve*).<sup>12</sup>

The first time Lenard came in touch with Milne's book was in 1943. He was a refugee at Rome, that recently had been occupied by the Germans, and in continuous hiding. Every moment people expected the Allied forces to turn up, which eventually they did after nine months. He started teaching English to an Italian companion and in choosing a book to use, he stumbled on *Winnie-the-Pooh*.

A major factor in the genesis of the Latin Pooh was Maffacini's translation of *Pinoculus*, which probably suggested the idea to Lenard.<sup>13</sup> Lenard started working on his Latin Pooh in 1952, when he was engaged in Parana in Brazil as a doctor of a mining company. Somehow, he started teaching English and Latin to a group of daughters of French engineers. For English he used (as in Rome) *Winnie-the-Pooh*, but Cornelius Nepos had less success. That became the stimulus to try to translate sections of

<sup>10</sup> Biographical data borrowed from [www.mek.iif.hu/kiallit/lenard/cv/indexde.html](http://www.mek.iif.hu/kiallit/lenard/cv/indexde.html). Cf. Péter Siklós, *Von Budapest bis zum Tal am Ende der Welt. Sándor Lénárds romanhafter Lebensweg* (German translation on the internet from Siklós Péter – Terts István (red.), *Egy magyar idegenvezető Bábel tornyában. Lénárd Sándor írásai a nyelvekről* (Budapest: Typotex, 2003), pp. 165-186).

<sup>11</sup> Published in *Vita Latina*, 15 (1962), 97-109 as *Maxus atque Mauritius*.

<sup>12</sup> Francisca Sagan, *Tristitia salve! Fabula amatoria e gallico in Latinum sermonem converso* (sic!) *ab Alexandro Leonardo* (Paris: Julliard, 1963).

<sup>13</sup> This is suggested by Lenard himself in a manuscript, which seems to be a letter to an Italian publisher, probably to be dated between 1962 and 1967. I owe this information to Zsuzsanna Vajdovics, who is currently preparing a dissertation on the works of Lenard at the University of Budapest. The information in the rest of this paragraph is essentially based on the same text. See on the genesis of *Winnie ille Pu* also: Alexander Lenard, 'Neulatein', in Id., *Sieben Tage Babylonisch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1964), pp. 83-86.

Pooh to furnish, as it were, parallel texts. The first edition (São Paulo, 1958), published against everyone's advice and better judgement, was paid for by Lenard himself and consisted of only 110 copies. One of those copies, in fact the very last, was sent to a librarian in Copenhagen, who asked for more, as a friend of his in Sweden showed interest. That was the start of the surprising rise to world success, first in Sweden, then in England, but most astonishing of all was the success it achieved in the United States of America. Intended as a book for Christmas by its American publisher (Dutton), the first three editions were exhausted within less than two days each and never even got outside of New York. Finally, *Winnie ille Pu* maintained its position on the bestseller list for 20 weeks.<sup>14</sup>

If *Max und Moritz* is a tale in verse, *Winnie the Pooh* is in prose. In the case of *Max und Moritz* both traditionalist translations in classic hexameters and imitations of Wilhelm Busch's verse have seen the light. The classic hexameter might seem quite weighty, but it has taken some time before Latin authors, poets and translators began to leave the classic forms. In fact, at the heart of this problem is also the fact that there were no models for this kind of Latin literature, and Neo-Latin literature is essentially an imitational literature in which models to be imitated and emulated play a decisive role. The same problem poses itself for *Winnie the Pooh*. If anything is clear, it is that Milne's language structure is very much different from the classical Latin phrase, either in its widely developed Ciceronian form, its clear Caesarian phrase or in its extremely succinct Sallustian, Senecan or Tacitean version. I quote just an example from Milne's text:<sup>15</sup>

"And how are you?" said Winnie-the-Pooh.

Eeyore shook his head from side to side.

"Not very how," he said. "I don't seem to have felt at all how for a long time."

"Dear, dear," said Pooh, "I'm sorry about that. Let's have a look at you."

The direct dialogue, the short sentences, short, but without being blunt or dry, and of course the word play, constitute a tremendous challenge. In 'normal Latin', an author of a text in prose would prefer to use indirect

<sup>14</sup> There also exists a Latin translation of *The House at Pooh Corner*, this time by Brian Staples: *Domus anguli Puensis: A Latin Version of A.A.Milne's 'The House at Pooh Corner'* (London: Methuen Children's Books, 1980 and various reprints).

<sup>15</sup> References to the English text are to Alan Alexander Milne, *Winnie-the-Pooh* (London: Methuen & Co., 1926), references are to the reprint from 1986.

questions, accusatives with infinitives etc., in other words, the typical instruments of the Latin language, which have been haunting pupils and students for centuries. Modern literary style in the vernacular prefers other instruments and another style, another way of writing, which, in fact, is based on personal reading, not on being read in public as was often the case with classical texts. Moreover, this short passage contains many expressions that are so English as to become virtually impossible to translate. 'I don't seem to have felt' is surpassed in its Englishness by 'I'm sorry about that' and 'Let's have a look at you', but nothing can compare to 'Dear, dear'. If this is a most delicate job for any modern language, for Latin it is almost impossible.

When we have a look at Lenard's translation, we read:<sup>16</sup>

'Et quomodo res tua agitur?' dixit Winnie ille Pu.

Ior capite abnuat.

'Non valde quomodo,' dixit. 'Longo iam ex tempore evidenter non agitur quomodo.'

'Malum, malum,' dixit Pu. 'Sane dolendum est. Sine me te adspicere.'

Lenard uses the long expression 'quomodo res tua agitur'. An alternative would have been *ut vales*, but this would have rendered impossible the following word play with *quomodo*. Lenard did not choose a third possibility, *quomodo vales*, for unknown reasons. Personally I might have done so, as it seems more close to Milne's English. The effect of the longer expression, however, is that the contrast with Eeyore's gloomy reply is more developed. Lenard shortened Milne's expression for the shaking of Eeyore's head. If in the English version, the description is more picturesque: Eeyore's gloominess is drooping to the ground, the Latin version is shorter. *Abnuere* means to signify (by shaking) that something is not the case, hence to refuse etc. 'Not very how' could not have been rendered more faithfully than Lenard did 'non valde quomodo'. *Non valde ut* does not sound the same. In order to develop the pun, Lenard rightfully chose the longer word *quomodo*. 'I don't seem to have felt at all how for a long time' is rendered in a more impersonal way, but at the same time he repeats linguistic elements from Pooh's original question:

<sup>16</sup> References to the Latin text are to A.A. Milne *Winnie ille Pu. Liber celeberrimus omnibus fere pueris puellisque notus nunc primum de anglico sermone in Latinum conversus auctore Alexandro Lenardo*, with notes and glossary prepared in consultation with Israel Walker (Novi Eboraci – New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1962), quotations and references are from and to the paperback edition ('Revised edition with notes and glossary') from 1987.

'Longo iam ex tempore evidenter non agitur quomodo.' *Quomodo* is at the end, as it should, for clearness's sake. *Evidenter* does not have a direct equivalent in the English text: probably Lenard looked for a way to render 'seem', but to avoid a construction with *videor*. Another possibility would have been: *Iam diu non mihi videor egisse quomodo*, but that phrase lacks the humorous tone, found in Lenard's translation, consisting at least partly in the repetition of Pooh's own question. The passive construction, introduced by a very long expression for the time, enforced by the adverb *evidenter*, somehow enlarges the contrast between the friendly Pooh, making a casual remark, and the ever gloomy Eeyore. The Latin predilection for short passive constructions, as found here, occurs again to render 'I'm sorry about that': 'Sane dolendum est'. At the same time, the small distance and aloofness, created by the use of the impersonal passive voice, instead of the direct active voice, corresponds to the ever present tone of understatement characteristic of Milne (and perhaps of the English language altogether). In that sense, Lenard renders the atmosphere of the book in a remarkable way.

The biggest problem, of course, was 'Dear, dear'. The Latin language is rich in interjections, but the somewhat pitying tone proper to 'dear, dear' has no equal. I think Lenard chose a good formula<sup>17</sup>, but still this brings us to a practical problem linked to this kind of translations: for us Latin is essentially a language based on literature, and most literature shows a different level of style than ordinary everyday language. In Latin we are lucky to have Plautus and Terence, but there are many situations in which ancient comedy had no interest, apart from the fact that some ways of feeling have changed throughout the centuries. This problem occurs again and again in modern Latin translations of types of literature which are essentially colloquial by nature, as e.g. comics. Even if it might be expected that the translations of *Asterix* should be popular with pupils, in fact, they are far too difficult to be used in class, as the Latin version draws heavily on classical allusions which need to be recognised in order to be appreciated, and this demands a level of knowledge which simply is not found in secondary schools, even in countries where Latin is still taught at school.

If we sum up, what we have seen with regard to Lenard's way of translating Milne, the first thing to be noted is the fact that the quantity of

<sup>17</sup> In another chapter, Piglet muses on the loss of a balloon destined for Eeyore with the words: 'Oh, dear, oh dearie, dearie, dear!' (p. 76). In this case Lenard chose another classical formula: 'O heu, eheu, eheu, o heu' (p. 59).

really literal translations is remarkably low. On the other hand, Lenard succeeded in recreating Milne's atmosphere by using proper Latin expressions and the authentically Latin tools to render Milne's phrasing. In this way, Lenard was able to render one of the foremost qualities of Milne's English, viz. its continuous understatement. In general, Latin is less 'cuddly' than most modern languages, as far as we know on the basis of our limited knowledge of colloquial Latin. In this way, even this short passage gives an impression of the 'tour de force' Lenard achieved in this translation.

Milne often used very short sentences, sometimes even limited to interjections. In the adventure of the Heffalumps, Piglet is waking up with the terrifying prospect of seeing his first heffalump in a few moments:

By and by Piglet woke up. As soon as he woke he said to himself, "Oh!". Then he said bravely, "Yes," and then, still more bravely, "Quite so." (p. 60)

Which is in Lenard's Latin:

Sub idem tempus Porcellus experrectus erat. Simul, secum dixit: "Heu." Deinde fortiter: "Sic!" postea etiam fortius: "Ita est," inquit. (p. 47)

There are two minor changes of aspect. If 'by and by' suggests a certain moment, 'sub idem tempus' is a situation of an event with regard to another event, 'at about the same time'. Moreover, *fortiter* and *fortius* do not only have the meaning of 'brave', but also 'strong' and hence (in connection with words denoting speech) 'loud', which, of course, gives a very lively image of poor timid little Piglet trying to be brave just before his first meeting with a Heffalump (and that for a Very Small Animal!). If *heu* is sufficiently attested in classical comedy, 'Yes' poses a problem. Lenard translated it by a form which in some Romance languages has adopted this specific meaning, *Sic*. 'Quite so' is rendered by the equivalent of *sic*, viz. *Ita est*. In so doing Lenard lost something of the specific nuance of the English 'Quite so', which is affirmative, but not quite synonymous with 'yes'. In Latin *ita est* is as such not stronger than *sic*, I think, but it looks a bit more forceful perhaps, by consisting of two words instead of one. In this way Lenard tried to have a variant expression and to save the steady climax of Milne, but I fear that almost nothing can beat the English expressions used here.

Finding the right words or expressions is a crucial problem in a case like *Winnie ille Pu*. Lenard's translation presents itself as a kind of mosaic

of phrases, from Latin authors ranging from Plautus and Terence to Ausonius.<sup>18</sup> Lenard himself accentuates the fact that he used a patchwork of phrases, rather than words, his main sources being Plautus, Catullus, Sallust, Cicero, Horace, Petronius and Apuleius. Furthermore, he created (or thought he created) some neologisms, like *sclopetum* (gun; cf. Italian *scioppo*)<sup>19</sup> and *folliculum* (balloon).<sup>20</sup> In this, he follows the model (without coming up to their level) of the humanists from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, before Neo-Latin grew to be dominated by Ciceronian Latin as the only way to salvation. As such, Lenard proves himself to be a non-professional Latinist, as every serious Latin scholar of the period would have clinged to Ciceronianism almost desperately, and he equally shows himself as an independent Latin author without many connections to the rest of the Latin-writing world. The latter is, by the way, typical of 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin literature: most authors live and work on literary islands. In a way, Lenard who found himself opposed by various classical scholars for his un-Ciceronian Latin, showed the way for most other contemporary translations. Modern Latin is becoming less and less Ciceronian. I think this is mainly due to the fact that students of Latin have a less intimate knowledge of Ciceronian Latin as a consequence of the lessening of the quality of the linguistic basis at schools and universities, with the result that they feel less obliged to limit their search for words and expressions exclusively to Ciceronian Latin. The curious thing here is that modern Latinity is *mutatis mutandis* in some way becoming more like the Latin of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century humanists, even when the quality of the latter is undoubtedly higher.

Milne's *Winnie-the-Pooh* is characterised (from a linguistic point of view) by the use of some typical phrases, which sometimes have found an equally characteristic Latin version.

In chapter 1, when Pooh is honey-hunting and floating in the air, he starts to have his doubts: 'You never can tell with bees.' In Latin: 'De apibus semper dubitandum est'. Once again the construction is turned

<sup>18</sup> Lenard argues this himself in two other texts in manuscript, *A proposito del linguaggio di Winnie ille Pu* and *Linguaggio e scopi del Winnie ille Pu*, both unedited. I would like to thank Zsuzsanna Vajdovics for having brought these texts to my notice.

<sup>19</sup> In fact, *sclopetus* is already found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Lenard, however, thought it was his own invention.

<sup>20</sup> This word is already found in Cicero, but as *folliculus*. Again, Lenard thought he created a new word. He considered it as a neutral noun, as is proved by the plural *follicula* (p. 5).

from the active to the passive with the typically Latin gerund. Lenard would use the same type of phrase on later occasions, which creates a pattern. So, when Pooh starts following some tracks in chapter 3, it is: 'De vestigiis semper dubitandum est' (English: 'You never can tell with paw-marks') or in chapter 5: 'De heffalumpis semper dubitandum est' (English: 'You never can tell with heffalumps'). However, as the Latin version is somewhat 'heavier', it sticks to the mind more easily and, therefore, is remembered, whereas the English phrase is 'too simple' to be remembered. In that way Lenard could create something repetitive, which Milne almost could not. In fact, Milne's language stands out for its charming use of everyday phrases. Another example is found in ch. 6, where Eeyore wonders about his unremembered birthday (p. 67): 'I'm not complaining, but There It Is', in Latin: 'Nolo queri, sed ecce'. This is quite brilliant, as it renders everything without saying anything.

Milne added a few nouns to the English language, presumably using the forms his little son used without knowing the correct forms. To recreate these in Latin did not seem very difficult. Lenard actually repeated the English form, giving it a Latin ending. This betrays an important aspect of *Winnie ille Pu*, and in fact of this whole genre of Latin literature: it is a book which is so conscious of being a translation that one cannot appreciate it fully without knowing the original, whereas most translations try to live without the original. So, the Woozle and Wizzle of chapter 3 have become a *vusillus* and a *visillus* and the Heffalump of chapter 5 has simply been latinised as *Heffalumpus*.<sup>21</sup> Lenard's genius appears, however, in the further treatment of the specific kind of animal we all know as an elephant. When Christopher Robin remarks that he has seen such an animal, Piglet asks what it was doing.

"Just lumping along," said Christopher Robin. "I don't think it saw me."  
(p. 51)

The Latin version of this dialogue is as follows:

Christophorus Robinus (...) neglegenter dixit: "Hodie heffalumpum vidi, o Porcelle."

"Quid agebat?" rogavit Porcellus. "Heffalumpabat," dixit Christophorus Robinus. "Eum me vidisse non puto." (p. 39)

<sup>21</sup> The Dutch translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh* has *lollifant* for *heffalump*, which illustrates the fact that Lenard's procedure is not the only one.



Instead of trying to do the impossible by rendering the meaning of the English word, Lenard chose to use the effect of the non-existing word *heffalump*, not only by making it a Latin noun, but also a Latin verb. Would an alternative have been possible? Lumping along in the sense of plodding along could be rendered by a form of *laborare*. *Laborabat*, however, would require a change of the noun in order to preserve the joke. *Elephas* could be transformed in the same way as in English into something like *ephelas* or *ephelaps*. But then it still is a bridge too far to *laborabat* or to *ephelaborabat*. And a form like *ephelabat* does not have a meaning at all. Moreover, if Lenard had chosen a form like this, or a similar one, he would have missed an essential element of his work, viz. the word *heffalump*, which all readers of *Winnie-the-Pooh* know. As I said earlier, this kind of literature in translation exists in fact only by the grace of the original being known (and even well known) by its readers. As there was no possibility to retain the original meaning and pun, Lenard had to choose a different angle, which he did in exploiting the Milnian form *heffalump*, which readers would expect to find somehow.

A few pages further, Piglet has had a terrible night wondering about what kind of animal a heffalump could be. When he decides to have a look in the Very Deep Pit, he finds something moving and grumbling, in fact Pooh with his head stuck in an empty pot of honey, and he panicks:

“Help, help!” cried Piglet, “a Heffalump, a Horrible Heffalump!” and he scampered off as hard as he could, still crying out, “Help, help, a Horrible Hoffalump! Hoff, Hoff, a Hellible Horralump! Holl, Holl, a Hoffable Hellerump!” (p. 62)

As might be expected, Lenard could use the same device as he did for the word *heffalumpus* and *heffalumpare*:

“Succurrite, succurrite!” Porcellus clamavit. “Heffalumpus, horribilis heffalumpus!” et quam ocissime aufugit, clamitans: “Succurrite, succurrite, horribilis heffalumpus! Hoff, hoff, hellibilis horralumpus! Holl, holl, hof-fabilis hellerumpus!” (pp. 48-49)

Once the form *heffalumpus* was created, the rendering of this passage with its correct humorous connotation was not that difficult, certainly as ‘horrible’ is a derivation of a good Latin word. What is a pity, however, is the fact that ‘help’ cannot be rendered in a way that follows Milne’s confusion of ‘help, hoff, holl’. When Lenard maintains the English forms ‘hoff, hoff’ and ‘holl, holl’, something in the Latin text is lost. ‘Succurrite, succurrite’ is simply too long. Perhaps he would have done better to

use something like *Heu, heu!*. In fact, the expression *succurrite* simply does not occur in ancient Roman comedy: the form does not exist in Plautus or Terence. When browsing on the internet, one finds the form *succurrite* even mainly for 20<sup>th</sup>-century Latin... Perhaps one would be justified in suggesting that Lenard was wrong here: he used a form which was far less frequent than the English ‘help’, and he lost something of the Milnian effect. By the way, Lenard forgot one expression, the *herribilis hoffalumpus*. An alternative would have been:

“Heu, heu!” Porcellus clamavit. “Heffalumpus, horribilis heffalumpus!”  
et quam ocissime aufugit, clamitans: “Heu, heu, herribilis hoffalumpus!  
Hoff, hoff, hellibilis horralumpus! Holl, holl, hoffabilis hellerumpus!”

When Christopher Robin organises an *expotition* to the North Pole in chapter 8, Lenard follows him closely with ‘*expotitio ad Palum Septentrionalem*’. The English wordplay with the double meaning of *pole*, in the sense of a geographical pole and a kind of stick, could not be imitated in Latin in a literal way, but Lenard substituted a wordplay of his own, by making use of the sound effect of the word *polus* and its almost homophonic *pilum* and *palus*:

“Sure to be a pole,” said Rabbit, “because of calling it a pole, and if it’s a pole, well, I should think it would be sticking in the ground, shouldn’t you, because there’d be nowhere else to stick it.”

Lenard translated:

“Polum, si nec pila nec pilum sit palum esse oportet. Et palum terrae infixum esse oportet, quia non est locus alius ad palum collocandum idoneus.”

In Latin the word *expotitio* suggests, however, a drink or even more than just one drink, which is not the case in English. This creates, of course, a supplementary wordplay, which goes beyond the fact of changing a difficult word that has not been properly grasped by the speaker.

Apart from being a bear with little brain and with much taste for honey, Pooh had another characteristic which stands out among those proper to most other members of that animal species: he hummed. The hums of Pooh, although not poetic masterworks in the normal sense, are well known and equally liked by Pooh’s readers, and in fact belong to the class of nonsense poetry. A nice example is found in the first chapter, when Pooh is climbing a tree in an attempt to satisfy his appetite:

Isn't it funny  
 How a bear likes honey?  
 Buzz! Buzz! Buzz!  
 I wonder why he does?  
 It's a very funny thought that if Bears were Bees,  
 They'd build their nests at the bottom of trees  
 And that being so (if the Bees were Bears)  
 We shouldn't have to climb up all these stairs.

In the English text these two hums are formally unrelated, as is clear from the different lengths of the lines. In the Latin translation, however, both stanzas have been made into a single composition:

Cur ursus clamat?  
 Cur adeo mel amat?  
 Burr, burr, burr,  
 Quid est causae cur?  
 Cur calleo cantare  
 Dum nequeo volare?  
 Egeo dulcis mellis  
 Sed mel stat in stellis!

A simple comparison shows that the pun has been partially preserved, but the formulation has completely changed. This kind of poetry is extremely difficult to translate, as sound effects and coincidental rhymes are so important. Moreover, the lines are short, the contents almost nil as all turns about a humorous effect. In fact, this kind of poetry is not only difficult to translate, but also to write. Everyone can write nonsense, but it takes some talent to write good nonsense.

Another hum is the Cottleston Pie one, when Eeyore is gloomily pondering over the fact that everyone has forgotten about his birthday and Pooh is humming contently:

Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.  
 A fly can't bird, but a bird can fly.  
 Ask me a riddle and I reply:  
 "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie."  
 Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.  
 A fish can't whistle and neither can I.  
 Ask me a riddle and I reply:  
 "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie."  
 Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie.  
 Why does a chicken, I don't know why.  
 Ask me a riddle and I reply:  
 "Cottleston, Cottleston, Cottleston Pie."

In the Latin version Lenard adopted some small changes to keep up with Milne. He changed the repetition of 'Cottleston' (which in Latin became *Crustulum*) to lines 1 and 3 instead of 1 and 4, changed the 'Ask me a riddle'-line to 'Cerebrum meum est fatiga-tum' with a pause (indicated by a stroke in the text) between *fatiga* and *tum* (presumably to indicate the change of accent with regard to normal Latin pronunciation) and ended his second line every time with a question ending on the personal pronoun *tu*. In order to have a proper rhyme, he changed the effect a little and let the first line end on *cru*, and the third line on *crum*:

Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum cru  
 Cano aenigmata, canis ac tu?  
 Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum crum  
 Cerebrum meum est fatiga-tum.  
 Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum cru  
 Volitant aves, dic volitas tu?  
 Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum crum  
 Cerebrum meum est fatiga-tum.  
 Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum cru  
 Sibilo bene, dic sibilas tu?  
 Crustulum, crustulum, crustulum crum  
 Cerebrum meum est fatiga-tum.

Yet another famous hum is the one meant to be a side-manoeuvre in the kidnapping of the little Roo, a plan devised by Rabbit. In fact, Pooh is playing about the various days of the week:

Lines Written by a  
 Bear of Very Little Brain  
 On Monday, when the sun is hot  
 I wonder to myself a lot:  
 "Now is it true or is it not,  
 That what is which and which is what?"  
 On Tuesday, when it hails and snows,  
 The feeling on me grows and grows  
 That hardly anybody knows  
 If those are these or these are those.  
 On Wednesday, when the sky is blue,  
 And I have nothing else to do,  
 I sometimes wonder if it's true  
 That who is what and what is who.  
 On Thursday, when it starts to freeze  
 And hoar-frost twinkles on the trees,  
 How very readily one sees  
 That these are whose — but whose are these?  
 On Friday...

Or in Latin:

Versus Ursi perpauli cerebri  
 Dies ille, dies Lunae  
 Semper venit opportune  
 Rogo vos et quaero id:  
 Quid est quod et quod est quid?  
 Dies alter, dies Martis  
 Est laboris et est artis  
 Age Canga, dic si scis:  
 Quarum? Quorum? Quid est quis?  
 Sequitur Mercurii dies  
 Qualis somnus, qualis quies!  
 Audi, lepus! Quaeritur:  
 Quisnam? Unde? Quidni? Cur?  
 Dies quartus, dies Jovis  
 Heu, aenigmata dat nobis  
 Cogitabo forsitan:  
 Nonne? Necne? Utrum-an?  
 Die Veneris...

At that moment Pooh was interrupted in his poetic musings. But Lenard could not resist to end the verse, although Milne never did:

Dies veneris dum ago  
 Et per silvam vacans vago,  
 Meditor percontor me:  
 Est-ne? It-ne? Habet-ne?  
 Sabbato, oh animalia!  
 (Quibus? Quonam? Quorsum? Qualia?)  
 Sciscitor ex aliquo:  
 Quali modo et cum quo?  
 Die Domini in ludo  
 Hanc canticulam concludo,  
 Quod non novi, nescio  
 Dormo<sup>22</sup>, sterto, somnio.

These verses are characterised by three elements. First the days of the week in combination with a certain type of weather ('On Monday, when the sun is hot'), then an expression of doubt or contemplation, stretching mostly over two lines ('I wonder to myself a lot: | "Now is it true or is it not?'), and finally the actual point, in which two pronouns are identified,

<sup>22</sup> Sic!

which is repeated in the reverse order ('That what is which and which is what?'). In the Latin version, the meteorological circumstances have disappeared and often have been replaced by an indication of the numerical order of the days ('Dies alter, dies Martis'). The moment of contemplation has been retained, but, contrary to the English version, the Latin text sees the appearance of some other Poohish animals as Canga and Rabbit. In the final question, however, the structure changes almost completely, except in the first stanza, where the translation is rather literal: 'Quid est quod et quod est quid?' In the other stanzas the final verse consists of a series of interrogative pronouns and adverbs: 'Quarum? Quorum? Quid est quis?', 'Quisnam? Unde? Quidni? Cur?' and 'Nonne? Necne? Utrum-an?'. In the stanzas Lenard added of his own initiative, he continued (of course) in the same vein: 'Est-ne? It-ne? Habet-ne?', and 'Quali modo et cum quo?', to which he added a similar line in the second verse of the sixth stanza: 'Quibus? Quonam? Quorsum? Qualia?' Only in the last stanza, he turns away from this grammatical and lexicological play: 'Quod non novi, nescio | Dormo, sterto, somnio'. Of course, the humorous effect is changed somewhat. If in Milne, the effect is based on the identification of two pronouns which do not refer to anything, but are used in their pure form, and on the reverse of that formula, in Lenard's translation the object of contemplation becomes a series of questions limited to their introductory words. The questions have no object, just as the identifications in Milne are completely pointless. Both Milne and Lenard have kept to the original scheme of this kind of verse, and in doing so both have achieved a remarkable tour-de-force.

Lenard chose to use for his verse the medieval system, based on rhyme and an accent of intensity instead of the prosodic metre of classic Latin poetry. This form resembles that of the early christian hymn.<sup>23</sup> In that way, he kept close to his model. If he had done anything else, he would have destroyed more than he would have created.

To sum up: Lénárd Sándor created an excellent Latin translation of Milne's classic, even when his Latin is not entirely faultless. In most cases he succeeded in maintaining the truly Milnian or Poohish spirit. It is by no means easy to do so in Latin. The main cause for this particular difficulty is the fact that the Latin language we know is a literary language,

<sup>23</sup> Probably, the lines follow also the well-known hymn *Dies irae, dies illa* (suggestion by David Money).

often even of high literature, i.e. poetry, rhetoric and philosophy, whereas Milne used a far simpler level of writing, based on everyday speech, which, of course, is not to be wondered at in a children's book. The specific periphrastic character of Milne's prose and its continuous tone of understatement, which make *Winnie-the-Pooh* enjoyable for older readers as well, forms a special demand for a translator into Latin.

Another question is, of course, whether *Winnie ille Pu* is enjoyable or understandable (and in that sense excellent) for readers who do not know the original English text. The specific nature of the widely spread original, and the fact that most readers turn to *Winnie ille Pu*, exactly because it is a Latin translation of a book they already know, stands in the way of a correct appreciation here. After all, the amount of readers who read it first in Latin, is rather low. That means that we read the Latin text with the English version in mind, and, even more, that we look for the way Lenard renders specific phrases, which cling to our ears in their original form.

*Winnie ille Pu* became a triumph almost immediately after it had been published. A short anthology of reviews from American journals may give an insight into the nature of this success, although I quote from the passages printed on the cover of the edition from 1987 (also on some older reprints), which, therefore, may be rather selective. *The New York Times Book Review* said: '*Pooh* has been a classic for so long, it's about time he showed up in a classical tongue'; or the *New York World Telegram & Sun*: 'Proof that humour is not dead, even if Latin is supposed to be.' The *Chicago Tribune* has it as follows: 'A book anyone with even the slightest knowledge of Latin can enjoy (...) it does more to attract interest in Latin than Cicero, Caesar, and Virgil combined.'

I think that this is not entirely exaggerated. In fact, the main reason for the success of *Winnie ille Pu* is not its intrinsic quality as a good translation of a delightful book. The main reason, as I see it, is the fact that it is a curious phenomenon as a translation into Latin. Many people (at the time, *sed tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*) had still learnt Latin at school, but at the same time Latin did not belong to everyday life, except for Roman Catholics. Moreover, Latin class at school was made up of battles, high flown speeches, heroes, gods, myths, stoic philosophy, and all kind of other but always quite heavy stuff. That Latin also has a gentle side, that it is the language of Plautine and Terentian comedy and of the love poetry of Catullus, Tibullus, Ovid and Propertius hardly came into view. This image of stoic strength and hard labour,

strengthened by the difficulties most pupils have in trying to decipher those succinct Latin sentences, has part in the waning of the subject matter of Latin at school. This small book, *Winnie ille Pu*, was in a way a shock to most people, as it showed a totally different use of Latin, this time not speaking of heroes, armies, philosophy or theology, but of teddybears and rabbits and a little boy. People in the 20<sup>th</sup> or 21<sup>st</sup> century see Latin as a difficult and deadly serious, not to say very tedious language, but at the same time there lingers some recollection of its universal importance, perhaps linked also to recollections of one's own schooldays. To be able to read Latin is still an intellectual status symbol, presumably because the better pupils at school have been drained to the Latin classes for centuries. This is changing at this very moment, now Latin is fast becoming really obsolete. At the same time one sees a flourishing of this kind of literature in translation: *Asterix*, *Harry Potter*, and, yes, *Pooh*.

It has to be regretted that sometimes the level of Latinity in these translations is not high: often it seems more important that the book exists in Latin than that its Latin should be correct and enjoyable. Latin is still a curious phenomenon, and that is perhaps the only thing that may save it for the near future, at least the very near future. That partly explains the interest in the media when Mel Gibson announced that his movie *The passion of the Christ* would be partly in Latin, or when the Finnish government says that it hopes to stimulate the use of Latin during its presidency of the European Union, or when a new dictionary for modern words appears in the Vatican, or when rumour has it that Pope Benedict XVI should want to reintroduce Latin mass. Latin has become a curiosity, a toy, a myth, a legend, a fairy-tale even, from the past that somehow has a relationship with us. And this fact is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in *Winnie ille Pu*.

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## INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

Gilbert TOURNOY

### THE ENIGMATIC SOCRATES OR LUDOVICUS SANCTUS IN THE FRENCH EDITION OF PETRARCH'S *RERUM FAMILIARIUM LIBER*

Thanks to the energetic and effective stimulus of Pierre Laurens, a new edition of Petrarch's letters is currently being brought out in the series 'Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme' by the publishing-house 'Les Belles Lettres'. The first volume came out in 2002, and its completion is expected in the near future.

Browsing through the volumes of Petrarch's *Familiars* and *Seniles*, I was struck by the information concerning Lodewijk Heyligen, to whom Petrarch dedicated the entire collection of the 24 books of his *Familiars*, especially because the errors that it contains are repeated time and again, with some minor changes.

So in the first volume of the *Familiars* one reads at p. 344: 'Cette lettre est adressée à Louis Santus de Beringen'.

The designation 'de Beringen' is correct, since this individual is also thus named in the papal documents upon the basis of which Dom Ursmer Berlière was able to establish, at the beginning of the last century, the identity of Petrarch's 'Socrates'.

But 'Louis Santus' forms a strange coupling! If the annotator wanted this name to look French, why Gallicise only its first part? The second part 'Santus' at first sight seems a stray typographical error for 'Sanctus', but it is not: the same form appears again for instance in the note to *fam.* 9, 2 at p. 492 of vol. 3. Hence it is to be viewed as an odd, partial Latinization of the Italian 'Santo'.

A few lines later, on the same p. 344 of the first volume of the *Familiars*, we are informed about the birth-place of this personage: 'Il naquit

à Nunée, dans la Campine (en Flandres)...'. I admit it is far from easy to discern from a distance the various regions in the Low Countries, especially since the term 'Flanders' nowadays covers the entire north of Belgium, whilst originally it only indicated the region West of the river Schelde.

Anyhow, later on this information turns up in a slightly altered, but not better, form in other volumes, as in the note at p. 492 of vol. 3: 'Nunée est une localité de la Campine (Kempen), province du Brabant septentrional (en Belgique).' Unfortunately there is no such province in Belgium, but there is a province called 'Noord-Brabant' (Northern Brabant) in the Kingdom of the Netherlands; however, in that province there is no village called 'Nunée' but only Nunen, situated about 8 km NE from Eindhoven.

So, where does this 'Nunée' come from? It seems to be, again, a Gallicised form of 'Nunea', which we read in the first critical edition of Petrarch's *Familiars* by Vittorio Rossi (vol. II, Firenze 1934, p. 214). This reading, however, was only a conjecture by Rossi, as was pointed out already in 1939 by Marc Dyckmans, 'Les premiers rapports de Pétrarque avec les Pays-Bas', *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, 20 (1939), 51-122 (pp. 104-109), who, after an extensive examination of the most important manuscripts, very justifiably proposed the reading 'mirica', the mediaeval form of 'myrica' (heath).

The results obtained by Dyckmans were taken over and refined more than forty years later in an exemplary and richly documented contribution by Andries Welkenhuysen, 'Louis Sanctus de Beringen, ami de Pétrarque, et sa *Sentencia subiecti in musica sonora* rééditée d'après le ms. Laur. Ashb. 1051', in "*Sapientiae doctrina*". *Mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévales offerts à Dom Hildebrand Bascour O.S.B.*, Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, numéro spécial, 1 (Leuven, 1980), pp. 386-427, especially pp. 389-390.<sup>1</sup>

These two fundamental contributions, both in French, do not seem to have brought either the exact name, or the personal data of Ludovicus Sanctus, or Lodewijk Heyligen, to the attention of scholars in the field. This is borne out not only by the commentary in the new French edition

<sup>1</sup> The observations by Dyckmans and Welkenhuysen concerning 'nunea – mirica' have been adopted by Jan Papy in his 'Creating an "Italian" Friendship: From Petrarch's Ideal Literary Critic "Socrates" to the Historical Reader Ludovicus Sanctus of Beringen', in *Petrarch and his Readers in the Renaissance*, eds. Karl A.E. Enenkel – Jan Papy (Leiden – Boston, 2006), pp. 13-14, n. 1.

of Petrarch's letters but also, *inter alia*, by the prologue to the recent study by John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: confronting Famine, War, Plague and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York – London: Routledge, 2000), which even states (p. 2) that 'Among the victims [of the Black Death] was Heyligen himself, who died in July 1348'. This statement testifies to a major confusion between, on the one hand, the date of the death of Petrarch's patron Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, who died on 3 July 1348, or that of his son Giovanni, who died on the night of 9 July 1361, and, on the other hand, that of Ludovicus Sanctus, who died in May 1361, as is proved by the note Petrarch himself left in his precious *Virgilio Ambrosiano* (Milano, Ambrosiana, olim A 79 inf., now Sala Prefetto, Arm. 10, scat. 27), quoted by Pierre de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2 vols (Paris 1907 = Paris – Genève, 2004), II, 284-285.

It is to be hoped that this small reminder will serve to eradicate the persistent errors in the presentation of Petrarch's most intimate friend Ludovicus Sanctus de Beringen.

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# INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Gilbert Tournoy, Dirk Sacré, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer, Jan Papy

## *Appellatio ad auctores*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21/3307, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Septembribus anni 2008.

## SIGLA:

<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)
<i>Camenae</i>	<i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris - Sorbonne - Paris IV) [vide interrete: <a href="http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article4890">http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/spip.php?article4890</a> ]
<i>CamHung</i>	<i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme</i> (Paris)
<i>CR</i>	<i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i> (Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)
<i>ERSY</i>	<i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)
<i>IJCT</i>	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Milano)
<i>JMRS</i>	<i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.)
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)
<i>NJ</i>	<i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)
<i>RELat</i>	<i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)
<i>RnR</i>	<i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma)
<i>RPH</i>	<i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)

<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)
<i>SPV</i>	<i>Studia Philologica Valentina</i> (València)
<i>SUP</i>	<i>Studi Umanistici Piceni</i> (Sassoferrato)
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Atlanta, GE)
<i>WBN</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>WRM</i>	<i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden)

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- ACNBon* Schnur Rhoda (gen. ed.) – Perrine Galand-Hallyn – Antonio Iurilli – Craig Kallendorf – Joaquín Pascual Barea – George Hugo Tucker – Hermann Wiegand (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bonnensis. Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies Bonn 3-9 August 2003*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 315 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).
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- vide et infra: 1.8 (Haskell – Broomhall; Park – Daston); 1.10 (Di Biase; Eire); 4.1 (Brown); 4.2: de Bry (van Groesen).

#### AMERICA:

- vide infra: Germania (Wuttke); Hispania (Martín Rodríguez – Santana Henríquez); 2.1 (Hofmann); 2.2: Placcius (Scheer); 4.2: Martyr Anglerius.
- AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS = CIVITATES FOEDERATAE AMERICAЕ: vide infra 2.1 (*Early American Latin Verse*).

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- vide infra: Britannia.

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## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

### 1. NOVA LEXICA

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### 2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (\*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatinorum Iohannis Ramminger interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (|) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

Apostolicalis-imperialis, -is, -e: *apostolic-imperial*: 201

Canticula, -ae = canticulum, cantiuncula (*inter voces dubias habent* Forc. et ThLL): 316

\*Conoidalis, -is, -e = conoides: 15

\*Corylus, -i, m. = corylus, -i, f.: 74-75

+\*Cosmographus, -i: *cosmographer* (*habet* Forc., *at consulatur praefatio Forcelliniana in indice scriptorum editionis a. 1940*): 39

Dormo = dormio (dormire): 316-317

Etymologicum, -i: *etymological dictionary*: 266

Expotitio, -onis: '*expotition*' (*pro expeditione in sermone Winnie ille Pui*): 313

Fabula Romanensis = \*fabula Romanica, *novel*: 269, 286, 295

Heffalumpare, -o: *be, act like a heffalump* (*in sermone Winnie ille Pui*): 311-312

Heffalumpus, -i: *heffalump*: 311-312

Hoffabilis, -is, -e: '*hoffable*' (*in sermone Winnie ille Pui*): 312

[+\*Hypothesis, -is: *hypothesis* (*habent* Forc. et ThLL *at vi diversa*; *cfr. etiam Krebsius in Antibarbaro*): 281

Iatromathematica, -ae: *astrological medicine*: 172

+\*<sup>o</sup>Impressura, -ae: *printing* (*press*): 8

Invidiosulus, -a, -um: *somewhat jealous*: 303

\*Ioveus, -a, -um: *of Jove, like Jove*: 102

\*Iuniperus, -i, m. = iuniperus, -i, f.: 75-76

+\*Licentiatus, i: *licentiate*: 214

Onomasticon, -i: *onomasticon*: 266

[Organon, -i: *systematic handbook* (*sensus vel valde vel leviter diversos tuentur pleraque lexica Latinitatis antiquae, mediae, recentioris*): 267

Perpaulus, -a, -um = perparvus (ThLL *modo habet substantivum neutri generis, accedente genetivo*): 316

Roscie (adverb.): *as a good actor, like Roscius*: 107

+\*Sclopetus/Sclopetum, i: *gun*: 310

Syndyasticus, -a, -um: *disposed to live in pairs*: 283

+\*<sup>o</sup>Tabac(c)um, -i: *tobacco*: 246

\*Targa, -ae: *small shield*: 38

<sup>o</sup>Torqual, -is = torquis: 88-89

+\*<sup>o</sup>Typographicus, -a, -um: *typographical*: 213

+\*°Typographus, -i: *printer*: 220

[+Varietas, -atis: *textual variant*: 219

Visillus, -i: 'wizzle' (*in sermone Winnie ille Pui*): 311

+\*°Vocabularius, -ii: *wordlist, dictionary*: 142

Vusillus, -i: 'woozle' (*in sermone Winnie ille Pui*): 311

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## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Humanistica Lovaniensia* follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

## 1. bibliographical references

### 1.1. first reference

#### 1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page

- \* Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. texteditions).

- \* The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).

- comma

- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics

- \* Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.

- \* Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.

- comma

- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...

- comma

- series, edition, number of volumes:

- \* If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).

- \* If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).

- \* If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

\* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

\* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

\* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

\* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

\* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

\* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sqq.' or 'ff.'!)

#### Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960- ).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

## 1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
  - \* The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
  - \* Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
  - \* In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

## Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

## 1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

## Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

## 1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

## Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

## 1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

## Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

## 1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

## Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

## 1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

## Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

## 2. lay-out

### 2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

\* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

\* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

\* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

\* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

\* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortensem' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus"'.  
- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

\* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

\* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:

If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

## 2.2. *footnotes*

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

## 2.3. *general requirements*

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board. After the final acceptance of the contribution a PC/Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb disk will be most welcome.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.



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